DVAVTEGARD

A NEW LIGHT
ON
THE RENAISSANCE

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A NEW LIGHT ON *THE* RENAISSANCE

DISPLAYED IN CONTEMPORARY EMBLEMS: BY HAROLD BAYLEY

ILLUSTRATED
WITH REPRODUCTIONS
OF NUMEROUS EMBLEMS

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TO

MY WIFE

"It is a truth perpetually, that accumulated facts lying in disorder begin to assume some order if an hypothesis is thrown among them."

—Herbert Spencer.

"What does a 'proof' mean? A proof means destroying the isolation of an observed fact or experience by linking it on with all pre-existent knowledge; it means the bringing it into its place in the system of knowledge; and it affords the same sort of gratification as finding the right place for a queer-shaped piece in a puzzle map."—Sir Oliver Lodge.

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INTRODUCTION

MY aim in these pages has been to lay before the general reader certain remarkable facts relating especially to mediæval papermaking and printing, but possessing an interest to the world at large.

The early history of Printing has engaged an enormous amount of attention, and rightly so, for Printing was the handmaid to the New Learning, and the means by which the Reformation was accomplished. The epic of Papermaking remains, however, yet to be written, and my investigations have been sufficient to show that when finished it will be a chronicle of deep and enduring interest.

From the time of the Middle Ages papermakers had a custom of branding into almost every sheet of their paper certain peculiar designs. With modifications and additions these curious and complicated watermarks were employed in common throughout Europe, and some have survived to the present day. They form an unbroken chain of ocular evidence stretching from about 1282 to the time when to all intents machinery superseded the older fashioned method of making paper by hand. No other industry can show such phenomena as the multiplicity of its trade signs, the persistent survival of ancient religious symbols, and the singular, if not unique, custom of the same devices being used in common by rival manufacturers. Underlying these facts are problems which neither bibliographers nor

present day papermakers have hitherto been able to solve. Several writers have recognised the emblematic character of papermarks, but no[1] serious attempt has been made to explain the meaning of the multifarious marks or to account satisfactorily for their employment.

The study and comparison of many thousands of mediæval watermarks enables me to assert with confidence that not only are they emblematic of ideas current at different periods, but that they convey a coherent and romantic story. Briefly this is as follows:—

In the Dark Ages there existed in the South of France a premature civilisation far in advance of that in the rest of Europe. Among the arts and industries that flourished in Provence and the surrounding districts, papermaking was one of the foremost. Not only was this district the cradle of European papermaking, but for many centuries it remained the centre of the industry.

The freedom and prosperity of Provence attracted large numbers of persecuted Jews and heretics who took refuge there, and by their industry and intellect augmented the power and influence of the country. So deeply, indeed, did heresy enter into the politics of Provence, that in 1209 the Church of Rome considered it necessary to launch a crusade against the infected district. During a period of twenty years, the land underwent a barbarous purging. Its towns and villages were sacked, and the heretical inhabitants either extirpated or driven into perpetual exile. Those who escaped carried with them a passionate affection for their destroyed Fatherland, and an undying hatred against the tyranny of the Church of Rome.

It will be shown that from the appearance of the first

[1] Except one valuable work to which I shall allude later.

known watermark in 1282 these mysterious marks are speaking broadly the traditional emblems of Provence. From the fact that fundamentally the same designs were employed all over Europe, we can deduce the inference that Provençal refugees carried their art throughout Europe, just in the same way as at a later period and under somewhat similar circumstances the persecuted Huguenots carried new industries into strange countries. It will also be shown that the same code which unlocks the obscurities of papermarks elucidates the problems of printer's marks, and evidence will be brought forward that papermakers and printers were originally in close touch with each other, held similar views, and were associated in identical aims.

It may be objected that emblem reading is an inexact science, and that an ingenious mind can froth up an imposing superstructure upon an unsubstantial basis. To avoid this danger, I have, as far as possible, consulted contemporary symbolists such as Durandus of Provence, and Valerian, whose vast *Hieroglyphicorum* was published at Leyden in 1624. The interpretations put forward are therefore not airy suppositions, but the unquestionable sense that certain emblems were once understood to convey. In order that the narrative may be not burdened and disjointed by footnotes, all references have been relegated to the end of the book. In cases where I have presumed to add up 2 and 2, the resultant 4 has been clearly indicated as my own calculation.

From the time when History first emerges from the Unknown, it is clear that Allegory has played a vital and pre-eminent part in human thought. Of Indian and Egyptian symbolism it is unnecessary to speak beyond noting that many of the emblems employed by papermakers are

traceable to these and other sources equally remote. A fact too little appreciated at the present day is the vast extent to which emblems and emblematic literature engaged the attention of mediæval Europe. Allegory, as says Professor Courthope, gradually produced a kind of intellectual atmosphere necessary to the life of the Middle Ages. It is, as will be demonstrated, a key that not only enables us to unclasp hitherto sealed writings, but to unravel a long series of hitherto mysterious papermarks and printers' marks. That mediæval artisans should systematically have scaled the heights of Allegory will be surprising to not a few; nevertheless, it will be remembered that—to mention but two conspicuous instances—Hans Sachs, the famous poet of Nuremburg, and Jacob Böhme, the equally well-known mystic philosopher, both practised the humble trade of cobblers. Indeed it is abundantly clear that mediæval craftsmen were adepts in the art of symbolism. Papermakers and printers alike took up a venerable thread, and, by weaving it into their workmanship, enshrined thereby their traditions and their aspirations. Papermarks and printers' ornaments are thus intellectual heirlooms that not only crystallise many beautiful ideas, but are historical documents throwing unexpected sidelights on the obscurity of the Middle Ages. From them it is clear that the scattered civilisation of Provence reunited in secrecy, and that in the course of time it reimposed its influence upon Europe. That this is no exaggeration will be conceded by those who realise the momentous sway exercised over European politics by the wandering and influential Troubadours. For centuries the Troubadours of Provence filled the rôle now occupied by the Press. Roving throughout Europe, they kept aflame the hatred

against Rome and the love of Art and Literature that was traditional to the Midi. Nothing is more astonishing than the influence which must have been exercised over the minds of mediæval craftsmen by the cycle of Romances sown and disseminated by the Troubadours. The evidence is scattered in the thousand forms of papermarks illustrating the St Grail, the Romaunt of the Rose, and other heretical legends. The fact that these watermarked designs were constantly modified and embellished with new emblems, is sufficient to prove that the men who made the changes were conscious of the symbolism underlying them, and that this existed not merely as a dead tradition, but was a virile and persistent force.

The crusade of 1209 by which Provence was so cruelly purged, was followed during the successive centuries by others equally ruthless. From her inception the Church of Rome was vexed by manifold forms of heresy, and was almost perpetually at war with her opponents. The names by which these were known varied at various epochs, but the contending forces remained more or less identical. "These heretic foxes" as one of the Popes acutely remarked, "have different faces, but they all hang together by the tails." In England we called them Lollards, and passed the statute *De Hæretico comburendo* for their extinction. It will be borne in mind that the heretical sects, which, to quote an ecclesiastical expression, infected Europe like a leprosy, flourished almost solely among the artisan classes. When France expelled the Huguenots she cut herself off from the most industrious and most valuable of her children. The motto of the persecuted Waldenses is said to have been *Laborare est orare*, and historians are agreed that the phrase "Work is prayer" truly summed

up their character. There is therefore nothing surprising that papermaking and printing should alike have fallen largely, if not solely, into heretical hands.

The evidence from trade-marks proves that it did so, and it proves also the reality of what several writers have surmised, *i.e.* that there existed a secret league against the encroachments of the Church of Rome. "Meiners," says Hallam, "has gone so far as to suppose a real confederacy to have been formed by the friends of truth and learning through Germany and France to support Reuchlin against the mendicant orders, and to overthrow by means of this controversy [1] the embattled legions of ignorance."

Now the chronicles of papermaking, and of her younger sister printing, form the epic of this 300 year warfare between Light and Darkness. For centuries the artisan classes maintained a resistance against the abuses of authority, which cannot but excite our awe and astonishment. Hounded from country to country, the persecuted heretics conformed outwardly to their surroundings, but cherished in secrecy a plan for the disenthralment of Thought, which as opportunities offered, was carried persistently into effect. While on the one hand they were at constant warfare with the official custodians of Christianity, they exemplified in themselves the ethics of Christ Himself, and of primitive Christianity.

It is supposed that what we call the Renaissance was the natural growth of the human intellect and its inevitable clashing with the tyranny of Ecclesiasticism. On the contrary, it will be seen that the Renaissance was organised and fostered for some centuries before it became

[1] The particular controversy of which Hallam is speaking, will be dealt with in due course.

manifest. It is beyond my scope to attempt anything in the nature of a history of the Renaissance, my aim being rather to point out the footprints left by the humanists who made it, footprints that have been overlooked because hitherto their significance has not been understood.

From G. A. Böckler's "Theatrum Machinarum," Folio, Nuremberg, 1662.

CHAPTER I

PAPERMAKING AND THE ALBIGENSES

PAPERMARKS being objects that are somewhat off the everyday track of knowledge, it may be of interest to describe briefly the ancient method of their production.

In the illustration below, the man standing at the tub,

1586. (From *The Book*: Bouchot. By permission of Messrs H. Grevel & Co.)

or "vat" as it is technically called, is the papermaker. The object in his hands is a wire tray with wooden rims. This implement is known as a "mould." The papermaker dips

it into his vat of paper pulp, picks up a thin layer, gives the mould a twist to interlace the fibres, and the result when pressed and dried is a sheet of paper.

A watermark is a device produced by fastening the desired design in strong wire on to the bottom of the mould. The pulp takes the impress of this projecting wire and the result remains visible in the finished sheet.

At the present day, watermarks, consisting usually of the name of the papermaker, accompanied in some cases by a distinctive device, serve as trade-marks. One of the many peculiarities about ancient marks is the fact that the same devices with trifling variations were used simultaneously by hundreds of different mills all over Europe. The mark of a Bull's Head, for instance, had an immense vogue for more than two hundred years. The "Pot" mark was popular for upwards of three centuries, and the "Fleur de lys," which is still in use to-day, can claim an even more venerable ancestry.

There has recently been published in Geneva a Dictionary of Watermarks[1] containing 16,112 facsimiles of various designs employed from about the year 1282 until 1600. Monsieur Briquet's monumental work represents the last word on papermarks viewed simply as trade-marks. The purpose underlying the employment of particular designs has hitherto remained an enigma, and Monsieur Briquet makes no new attempt to solve it. "We shall," he says, "leave on one side the numerous problems that arise as to the significance and employment of papermarks. Conjectures are worthless unless one can

[1] Les Filigranes: *Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier dès leur Apparition vers* 1282 *jusqu'en* 1600. C. M. Briquet, 4 vols. folio. London, B. Quaritch.

confirm them with historic support." Unexcelled as a catalogue of facts, M. Briquet's work remains, therefore, professedly no more than a bald chronicle of unexplained designs. In his introductory chapter the author does me the honour to discuss at some length the proposition which I maintained in a magazine article some years ago, that watermarks (whatever trade purpose they may subsequently have served), were originally EMBLEMS, and as such possessed very definite meanings that beckon to us for solution. M. Briquet concedes that many of the subjects employed are capable of bearing symbolic interpretation, but he maintains that it rests with me to prove that it was *because* of these meanings that the marks became customary.

I accept this challenge, and will endeavour to show that at the vivifying touch of symbolism, M. Briquet's 16,112 skeletons assume flesh, and become animated with a human interest.

The history of early papermaking is meagre and inadequate. The Art is believed to have been introduced into Europe either from the East by returning Crusaders, or from the Moors, perhaps through Spain or Sicily.

It is a fact, the significance of which has hitherto been unnoted, that the early papermaking districts were precisely those that were strongholds of the heretical sects known as the Albigenses. The word "Albigenses" is a term applied loosely to the various pre-Reformation reformers whose strongholds stretched from Northern Spain across the southern provinces of France to Lombardy and Tuscany. In Spain and France they were known as Albigenses from *Albi* the name of one of their prominent towns. In the Alpine provinces they were called Waldenses, from Peter Waldo, one of their most conspicuous members. In Italy,

History alludes to them under the terms Cathari or Patarini.

The character of these sectarians was one of the most remarkable in the record of civilisation. It was the actual practice of New Testament precepts, indeed, the Waldenses claimed to be the direct descendants of the early Christians, many of whom it is supposed fled into the Alpine valleys to escape the persecutions of Nero and Diocletian. Their aim was the curtailment of the Papal authority and the promotion of a purer Gospel. The wealth of the Catholic clergy, their greed for temporal power, and other abuses of the times were the objects of assiduous denunciation by the Albigenses, who maintained that they alone possessed the true secret of Christianity, having had it handed down to them traditionally from the times of the Apostles.

The Albigenses were greatly beloved by their neighbours. Their industry, morality, and general sweetness of character, led to their being known proverbially as "the good people." Their Italian name "Cathari" is from a Greek root signifying "the pure ones." The keynote of the Albigensian character was industry, and it is said that the axiom "Work is Prayer" had its origin among them.

It is noteworthy that among the roll of mediæval papermakers, we find names which epitomise the Albigensian

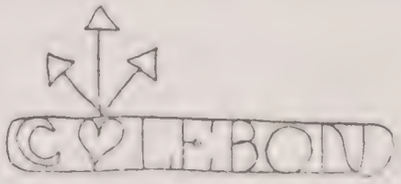


Fig. 1.—Papermark, 1767.

character of "Good people"; such, for instance, as *Le Bon*, *Bon*, *Bonamour*, *Bonfoy*, *Dieuayde*, *Diodati* (the

Gift of God) and *Sauveur*. The Monsieur C. Le Bon, who made paper in 1767, may reasonably be regarded as a descendant of the original "Good people."

In the seventeenth century there was a large trade in paper done at the French town now known as Dieulouard. Paper emanating thence was watermarked in a variety of forms, such as Duaulegead, Dulegard, Duaulegeard. In his *Literary History of the Waldenses*, Montet comments upon the continual variation in orthography which was a Waldensian characteristic, instancing: Nuit, Noyt, Noit; Eysemple, Esemple, Exemple, and other examples. Now the old name for Dieulouard was Dieu le garde, a term the origin of which is not known, and it is, I think, evident, putting together the three facts of paper-making, varied orthography, and the characteristic "God Guard It," that the town of Dieulouard was originally a little Albigensian colony of papermakers.

There is another fact that—to deal at present with purely external evidence—seems to associate the Albigenses with paper-making. In Italy they were known not only as Cathari, the pure ones, but as "Patarini." This is said to have been derived from *pates* a word meaning old linen. There was a street in Milan called Pataria or the rag market, where the Cathari congregated so conspicuously, that they were dubbed 'Patarini.' It is difficult to understand why the rag markets were proverbially so popular with them, unless they met there for the purpose of buying their raw material for papermaking, *i.e.* rags.

But the evidence from watermarks lifts conjecture into certainty, and demonstrates that it was unquestionably among "the pure ones" and "the good people" that papermaking first flourished in Europe.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS EMBLEMS

AN ever-present dream of the Albigenses was to bring in the Millennium. Their method to this end was firstly the reformation of their own souls, and secondly the rendering of affectionate help to their neighbours. At times their aspirations took a more ambitious flight. The third of the Crusades—that with which Scott deals in *The Talisman*—is said to have covered a deeply laid scheme aided by the Templars and the Troubadours, to set up a purified rival to the Church of Rome with headquarters at Jerusalem.

One of the earliest watermarks yet discovered is a globe surmounted by the Cross.[1] In Figs. 2 and 3, we have further emblems of the universal reign of Love and Concord.

FIG. 2.—18th century.

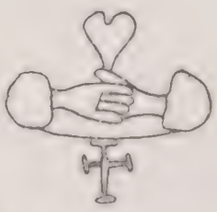
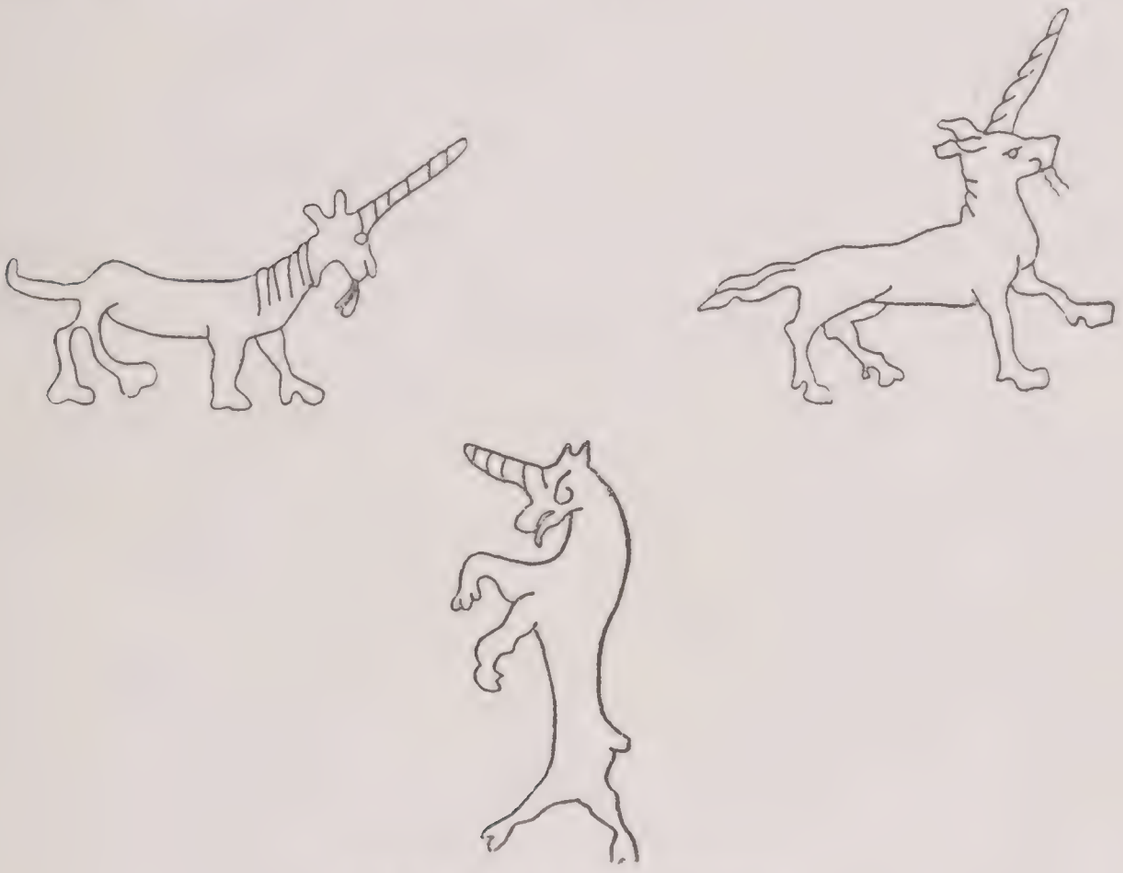


FIG. 3.—18th century.

It will be observed from the dates under each facsimile, that extensive periods of time were covered by similar

1 This emblem has persisted until the present day, and may be seen at the summit of Fig. 408 (p. 217), which is a facsimile of the modern mark in foolscap writing papers.

emblems. These dates do not denote the first or the last appearance, but refer simply to the examples here reproduced. It may be stated roughly that every design found in watermarks was used in common by many different papermakers in localities thousands of miles apart, and (subject to variations and recombinations of the same elements) for many hundreds of years.



Figs. 4, 5, and 6.—15th century.

Figs. 4, 5 and 6 are Unicorns. This animal was essentially, I think, the emblem of the Cathari, the pure ones. It was the symbol of Purity and Strength, and is often represented in company with a Virgin holding a dove. Basil Valentine, the Alchemist (*c.* 1400), tells us in *The Triumphal Chariot of Antimony*, that the Unicorn was so intensely pure, that it repelled things noxious. He recommends the experiment of forming a

circle with a strip of Unicorn's flesh, and placing therein, say, a spider. He assures us the spider will be unable to escape from its pure environment. In Reusner's *Emblems* (1581) the unicorn is made the ensign for the motto "Faith undefiled victorious."

Fig. 7.—14th century.

Fig. 8.—14th century.

Fig. 9.—1699.

Fig. 10.—15th century.

Figs. 7, 8, 9 and 10 are stags, again, I think, emblems of the Pure Ones. The stag was the symbol of solitude and purity of life. It was also regarded as a type of religious aspiration, probably from the passage in the Psalms "Like as the Hart panteth for the waterbrooks." There was an old belief that the stag, though a timorous creature, had a ruthless antipathy to snakes, which it laboured to destroy; hence it came to be regarded as an apt emblem of the Christian fighting against evils. It was sometimes regarded as a symbol of Eternity. The palm branches in Fig. 9

typify Victory. In Fig. 7 will be seen the Cross—evidence that some sacred meaning underlay the employment of this stag design.

Fig. 11.—1399

Fig. 11 represents the *Vera Icon*, or True Image. The legend runs that the Saviour on the way to Calvary was met by the woman Berenice. Filled with compassion, she wiped His face with her kerchief, which miraculously retained an imprint of the Divine features. Whereupon Berenice was re-christened St. Veronica—an anagram of *Vera Icon*.

Fig. 12.—15th century.

Fig. 13.—1477.

Fig. 12 is manifestly a saint or an angel, and Fig. 13 a scallop-shell emblem of a pilgrim. The reader will recall Sir Walter Raleigh's lines:—

"Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,

My gown of glory, hope's true gage;
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

. . . . .

My soul, like quiet palmer,
Travelleth towards the land of heaven;
Over the silver mountains,
Where spring the nectar fountains."

Figs. 14, 15, 16 and 17 are Jacob's ladders. The Albigenses regarded this ladder as a symbol of virtues and

Fig. 14.—1509.

Fig. 15.—1400.

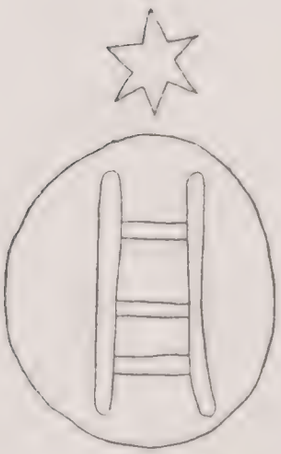


Fig. 16.—1506.

Fig. 17.—1511.

good works, by the practice of which Earth is brought into close touch with Heaven. In their literature they

refer generally to a ladder of thirty steps, the first "Fear of the Lord," the second "Charity," and so forth.

In Fig. 14 observe the angel standing at the ladder's summit.

FIG. 18.—1419.

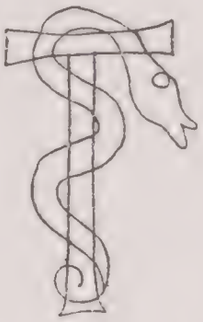


FIG. 19.—1744.

Fig. 18 represents the sacred TAU, the symbol of salvation, and the mark of election mentioned in Ezekiel—"Go through the midst of the city and set a mark (Tau) upon the foreheads of the men that sigh, and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof." The Tau entwined by a serpent was the symbol of regeneration and salvation.

FIG. 20.—15th century.

FIG. 21.—15th century.

Fig. 20 is the sacred Y of Pythagoras. This denotes the branching roads of Vice and Virtue. To every man there arrives a time when it is incumbent upon him to choose the one or other of these roads. In old woodcuts

the Y is to be found with a celestial crown suspended from the right arm, and symbols of damnation from the other.

Figs. 22 to 26 are representatives of an immense class of watermark. The hand was, I think, primarily the

Fig. 22.—1577.

Fig. 23.—15th century.

Fig. 24.—15th century.

Fig. 24a.—1573.

Fig. 25.—1549.

Fig. 26.—15th century.

emblem of labour, of the axiom *Laborare est orare*; when marked with a heart of *loving* labour. When as in figure 26 the third and fourth fingers are bent downwards, it was the sign of Benediction.

"It behoveth man," says a twelfth century writer, "to have a candlestick that he may shine with good works."

In Fig. 27 we have such a candlestick which "by its good example inflameth others." "How far," says Shakespeare, "that little candle throws his beams! So shines a *good deed* in a naughty world."

The character of the Albigenses was a combination of unflagging industry, cold common sense and ardent mysticism. They were, as we shall see, the greatest practical exponents of the art of Allegory that modern civilisation has seen. There was not a single dogma that they did not spiritualise. To them, God was a Spirit to be worshipped only in spirit. They attributed to the scriptures a fourfold interpretation, the Historic, the Allegoric, the Tropologic, and the Anagogic. For the edification of the simple minded, the historic face-value was sufficient; by the more spiritual among them the allegoric was valued; the third and fourth stages of interpretation were to be trod by the higher and the highest minds alone. Throughout Albigensian literature we are brought face to face with their adherence to the Paulician dictum "The Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." In Figs. 28 to 30 we see symbols of this teaching. The scissors or snuffers are reminders that the flame of spiritual truth burns brighter when snuffed of the letter. I should hesitate to make this assertion except by the authority of Durandus, whose words are translated by his latest editors as follows: "The snuffers or scissors for trimming the lamps are the divine words by which men amputate the legal title of the Law, and reveal the shining Spirit."

Fig. 27.—1488.

Durandus was a Provençal bishop (*c.* 1300). His *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, from which I shall draw

constantly hereafter, was the first[1] work of an uninspired author that was issued from the printing press; evidence sufficiently striking of the high estimation in which it was held. Durandus is obviously a Latinised form of Durand, a name conspicuous in Albigensian literature, and to be seen in water-

Fig. 28.—1496.

Fig. 29.—1450.

Fig. 30.—1476.

mark Fig. 211 (p. 76). The *Rationale* is a typical example of the Albigensian method not only of interpreting scripture, but of fitting every material object, to the minutest detail, with spiritual meanings. All things, Durandus tells us, be full of divine significations and mysteries, and overflow with a celestial sweetness; if so be that men be diligent in the study of them, and know how to draw honey from the rock, and oil from the hardest stone.

[1] See note, p. 237.

CHAPTER III

EMBLEMS OF THE DEITY

THE Albigensian idea of God (as far as I understand it) was as follows. The Father they regarded as All-Wise and All-Good, but not as All-powerful; otherwise He would not have permitted the existence of evil. Matter they regarded as the creation of some opposing Evil Principle, and the creation of the human race as a catastrophe by which immortal souls were imprisoned in flesh cages.

The God of Goodness they regarded as a Trinity, and as nothing foul could flow from such a Source, they attributed to Him no responsibility for the sorry scheme of human affairs, but considered it their duty to live so wholly in the spirit, that mundane affairs lost their power to vex.

Christ they considered to be the Saviour of the world, the Redeemer of the souls in prison, and the highest of the angels. The Holy Spirit ranked third in their Celestial Hierarchy, and it was the joy of the redeemed to dwell for ever in the contemplation of His ineffable beauty.

The dogma of the Immaculate Conception was rejected as an error contrary to good sense and the laws of Nature. The expression "Son of God" was interpreted allegorically as meaning the soul of man regenerated by the Holy Spirit, and Beloved of God the Father. Many of the Albigenses believed Christ to have had no human

existence, but to have been the Personification of the abstract qualities of TRUTH. This class doubtless interpreted Mary as *Mare*, the unfathomable sea of the Spirit.

The designs here grouped together are emblems of these ideas, which, as will be recognised, were strongly reminiscent of Gnosticism.

The serpent in Figs. 31 and 31A was, according to the most ancient imagery, the emblem of the hidden or unrevealed

FIG. 31.—1745.

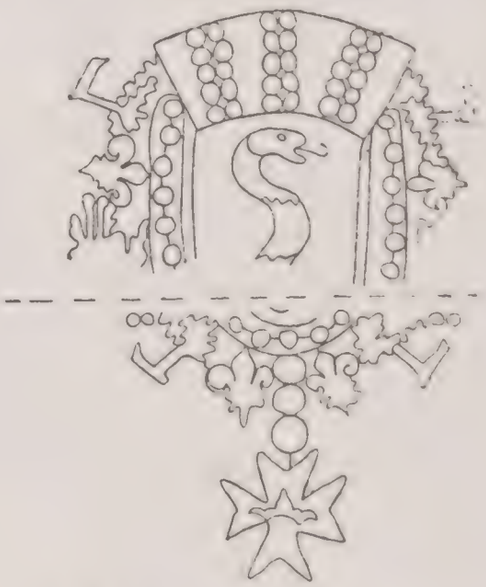


FIG. 31A.—(reversed) 1751.

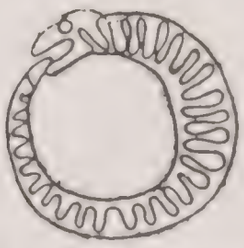


FIG 32.—18th century.

Deity, God the Father. According to ancient philosophy the figure Three represents Time—past, present, to come. The serpent twisted into the form of a 3 should denote, therefore, the eternity of God the Father, the ever-existent "I AM." In every age and creed, says Balzac, the number Three has represented God; that is to say, Matter, Force,

and Result. The serpent in the form of a circle is another illustration of the same idea, the circle being the emblem of universality or Omnipresence, and (for the reason that it offers no solution of continuity) likewise of Eternity.

Figs. 31 and 32 are representations of an idea very popular in Eastern architecture, and among the Guild of Cathedral Builders known as the Comacine Masters. These designs of tracery without beginning and without an end were known in Lombardy as Solomon's Knots. They were a representation of the inscrutability of the Divine Being. Surrounded by a circle they would denote the Eternal Inscrutability. It will be observed that Fig. 34 is traced in the form of a cross, and that Fig. 36 is an ingenious adaptation of the symbol known as the fylfot which has been looped up at the extremities. The early Christians understood the fylfot as a symbol of Christ the Corner Stone, but its origin is vastly anterior to Christianity.

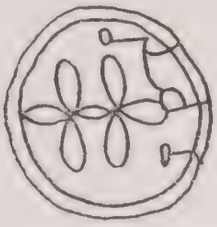


FIG. 33.—17th century.

FIG. 34.—1434.

FIG. 35.—1328.

FIG. 36.—1317.

Within Fig. 37 and at the head of Fig. 124 (see p. 49) will be observed the number 4. By the Ancients the Universe was regarded as a living arithmetic in its development,

and a realised geometry in its repose. They accepted numbers as the best representations of the laws of harmony that everywhere prevail. The figure 4 was held sacred as the emblem of moral justice and Divine equity, on account of its forming the perfect square, none of the bounding lines of a square exceeding the others by a single point in length. All the powers and symphonies of spiritual and physical nature, it was believed, lay inscribed within a perfect square, hence the figure 4 was employed to express the ineffable Name of an otherwise unexpressible Deity. I include here some examples of watermarked

Fig. 37.—1585.

Fig. 38.—1476.

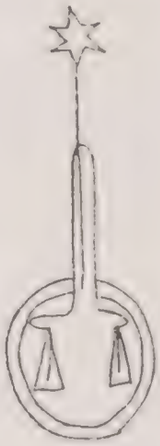


Fig. 39.—1476.

Fig. 40.—1489.

Fig. 41.—1357.

Fig. 42.—1359.

scales. The scales typified eternal equilibrium which is the necessity of a Universe of Harmony and exact Justice.

Fig. 43 is obviously the Lamb of God.

Fig. 44 is a pelican, the emblem of Self-Sacrifice. It was supposed, owing to a red spot at the tip of the bill, that the pelican pierced its breast in order to feed its young ones with its life blood. Hence Dante refers to the Saviour as "nostro Pelicano."

Fig. 43.—15th century.

Fig. 44.—15th (?) century.

Fig. 45.—1470.

Fig. 46.—16th century.

Fig. 45 represents the Sun of Righteousness risen with healing in His wings, and Fig. 46 the Bright and Morning Star. The monogram I H S really stood for the word Ihsous, but the later and more attractive idea that it implied (I)esus (H)ominum (S)alvator has almost superseded the original notion.

Fig. 48, the fish, was a favourite emblem among the Christians in the Catacombs. When it was discovered that the letters in the Greek word for a fish were the initials of the phrase, "Jesus Christ the Son of God the Saviour," the fish symbol at once sprang into use.

The anchors, as seen in Figs. 49 to 52, are emblems of Christ as a Refuge and a very present Help in trouble.

Fig. 47.—17th century.

Fig. 48.—1314.

The letters I C presumably stand for Jesus Christus.

Fig. 49.
17th century.

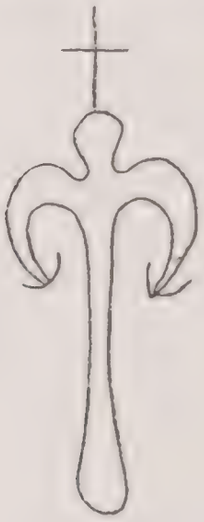


Fig. 50.
15th century.

Fig. 51.
15th century.

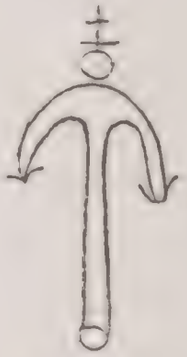


Fig. 52.
15th century.

Figs. 53 to 59 represent the True Vine.

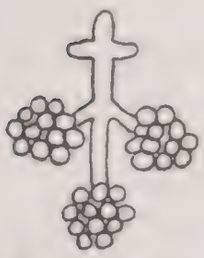


Fig. 53.—1440.

Fig. 54.
17th century.

Fig. 55.
17th century.

In the centre of Fig. 57A will be observed the labarum forming the first letters of the word Christos. The cross is the Greek letter *Chi* (χ) and the P the Greek letter R (ρ).

The letters I C, which appear over Figs. 56 and 57, stand probably for Jesus Christus.

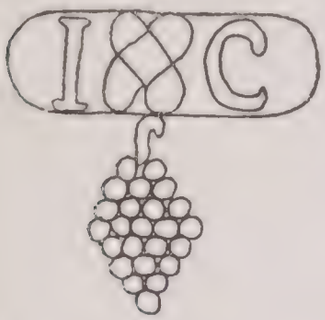


Fig. 56.—18th century.

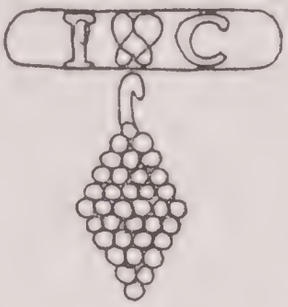


Fig. 57.—18th century.

17th century.

Fig. 58 shews a dove, the emblem of the Holy Spirit. The frequency of this device has led to a certain paper being known technically as Colombier.

In Figs. 59, 60, and 61 the Spirit is represented as descending with outstretched wings. Where, as in Figs. 60 and 61, it is upon a heart, sanctified by the mark of the cross, the intention is evidently a pictorial representation of the prayer, "Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit." Further emblems of the Holy Spirit will be discussed later.

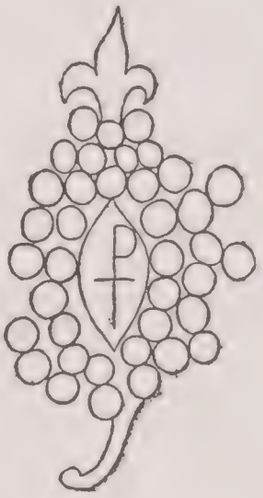


Fig. 57A.—1640.

The Trinity was symbolised by three circles, "that Trinitie and Unitie," to quote an old writer, "which this

Fig. 58.—1767.

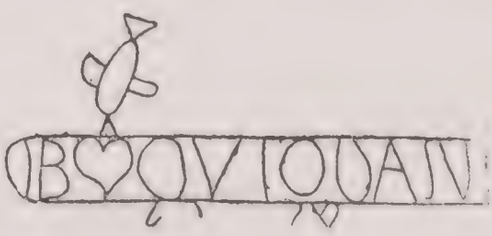


Fig. 59.—1751.

globous triangle in a mortall immortall figure represents." In Fig. 62 the sign is shown surrounded by a flaming halo,

and in Fig. 63 surrounded by an olive wreath. The olive branch is still universally accepted as the emblem of Peace. Fig. 63 was adopted as the Arms of Lombardy, a province

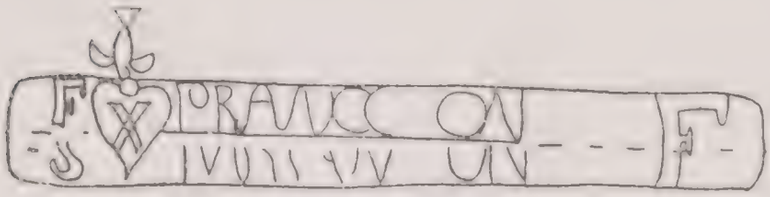


Fig. 60.—1736.

Fig. 61.—18th century.

which has always been identified with Albigensianism in its various forms. Frequently the three circles were ranged on the top of each other. In this case they may, I think,

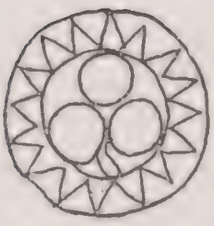


Fig. 62.—1594.

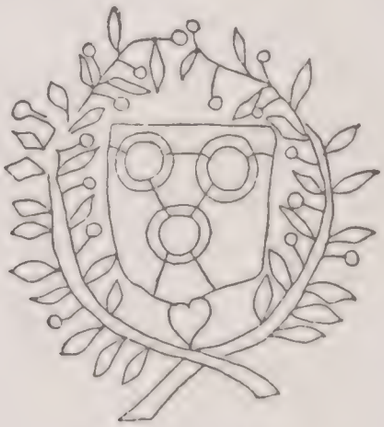


Fig. 63.—1697.

be read upwards as representing the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ, and the Father. The symbols within these circles vary incessantly.

Another form in which the Trinity was expressed was that of the clover leaf or trefoil; but the favourite emblem was a Fleur de lys. In Fig. 81 it will be observed encircled by a blazing halo. On Fig. 82 the initials I S stand in all probability for Jesus Salvator.

The three triangles pointing downwards on to a heart, as in Fig. 1, are obviously, I think, also a Trinity emblem.

Speaking generally, every emblem representing the Trinity served also as a symbol of man's Soul for the reason that Man is said to have been made in God's image. In his work on Dante, published in Paris in 1854, Eugene Aroux, who writes from the orthodox Catholic standpoint, complains that mysticism was none other than the arrogant dream which aspires to convert men into gods. In this, as in most other respects, Aroux's conclusions are probably correct. The mystics undoubtedly believed that Man was a potential God. As already stated, they accepted the expression "Son of God" as meaning the Soul of man regenerated by the Holy Spirit. In Figs. 85 and 86, the six-pointed Star, we have a favourite emblem, not only of Christ in His Divine and human aspect, but of Man's regenerated soul. It is said that "the Souls of the Righteous shall shine like Stars," and our English Massinger expresses the idea more fully as follows :—

> " As you have
> A Soul moulded from Heaven and do desire
> To have it made a Star there, make the means
> Of your ascent to that Celestial height
> Virtue winged with brave action. They draw near
> The nature and the essence of the Gods
> Who imitate their Goodness."

It is, I think, obvious how the star came to be accepted as a Soul symbol. If we take two equilateral triangles, ▽ and △, regarding the first as the Divine Trinity stooping downwards, and the second as the little Trinity of Man's Soul reaching upward, and if we then gradually blend these together until they completely embrace thus

Fig. 64.

Fig. 65.

Fig. 66.

Fig. 67.

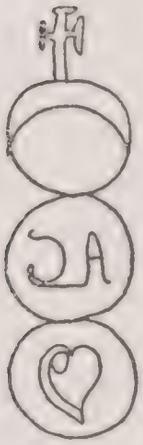


Fig. 68.

Fig. 69.

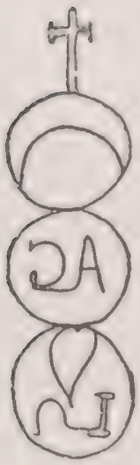


Fig. 70.

Fig. 71.

17th and 18th centuries.

Fig. 72.

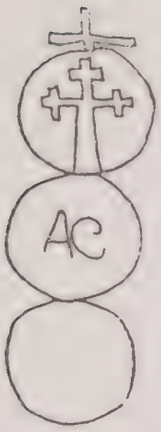


Fig. 73.

Fig. 74.

Fig. 75.

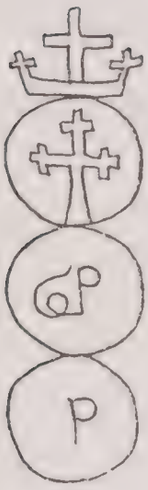


Fig. 76.

Fig. 77.

Fig. 78.

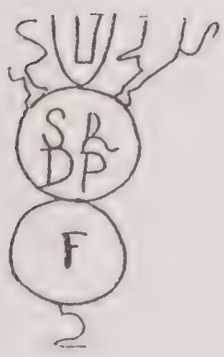


Fig. 79.

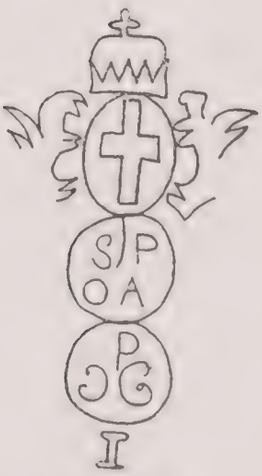


Fig. 80.

17th and 18th centuries.

✡, we see that at the moment of perfect fusion the star has become self-formed.

"Om Mani Padme Hum, The Sunrise comes!
The dewdrop slips into the shining Sea."

Fig. 81.—1677.

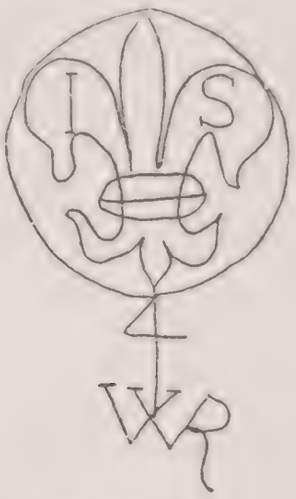


Fig. 82.—1590.

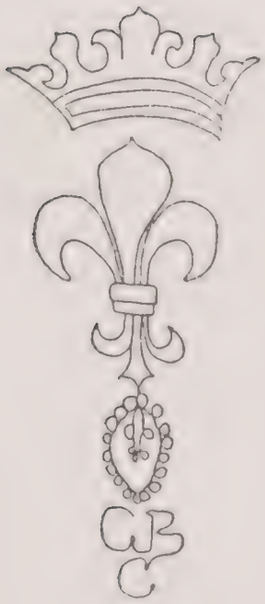


Fig. 83.—1745.

Fig. 84.—1777 (?).

Observe how in Figs. 56 and 57 the designers have combined point to point, two hearts in lieu of triangles,

and how in Fig. 88 Francesco Polleri merged into his emblem the Risen Sun, the six-rayed Star, and the circle of Eternity.

FIG. 85.—1382.

FIG. 86.—1403.

FIG. 87.—1381.

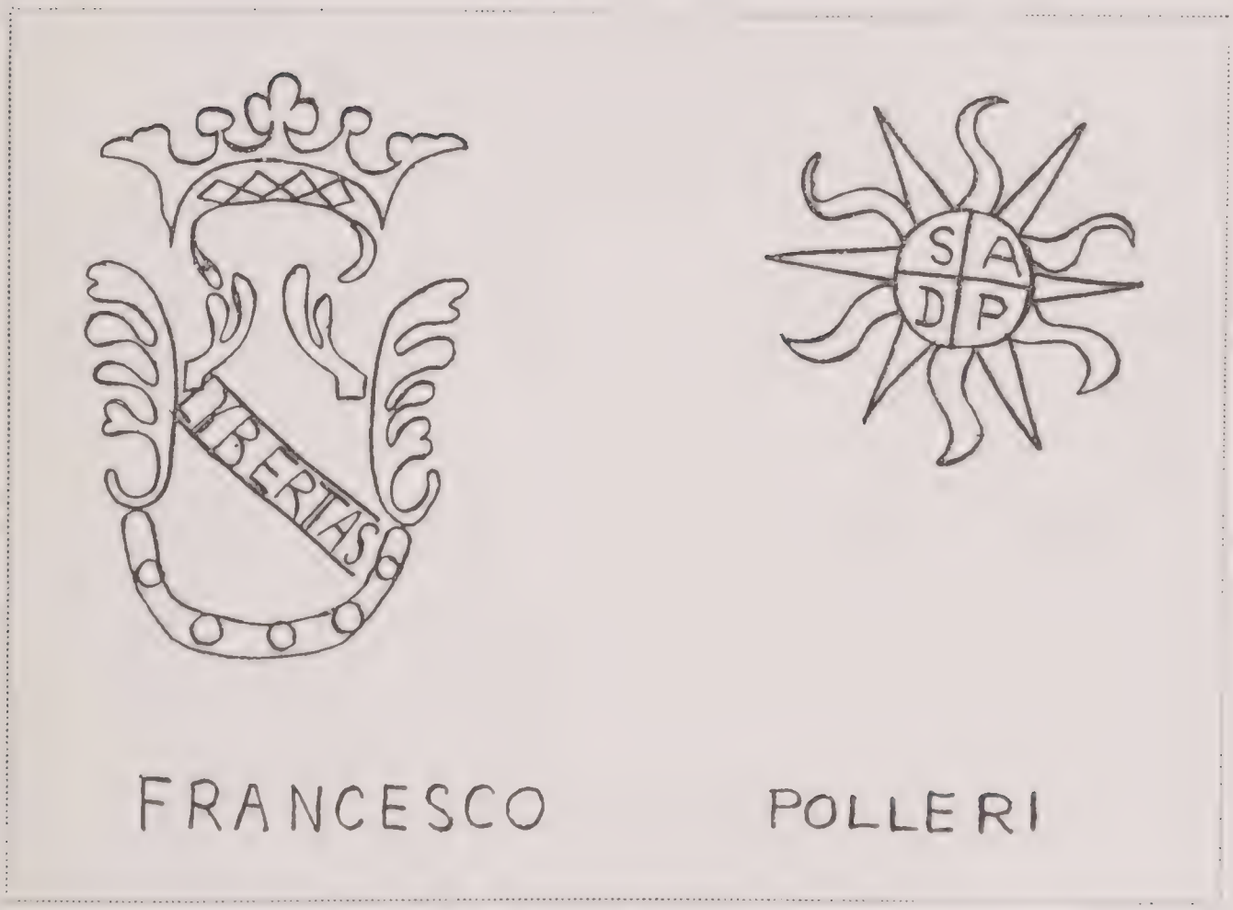


FIG. 88.—17th (?) century.

CHAPTER IV

EMBLEMS OF PERSECUTION AND PREACHING

IN the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which may be justly described as an epoch of religious revolution, the headquarters of heresy were in the South of France, more especially in the provinces of Languedoc and Provence. The flourishing cities of Languedoc, which carried on a world-wide trade in soap, felt, jewelry, and *paper*, attracted by their prosperity and freedom large numbers of exiled Jews and heretics, who took refuge there and tended to augment the prosperity and intelligence of the Provençals. In many respects the civilisation of the Provençals was in advance of that of their European contemporaries. In this district originated the Troubadours, of whom we shall speak later; also that singular religious fraternity known as the Bridge Builders, a body that did much by its labours and example towards improving the highways of mediæval Europe. The Provençals were cultured and liberal, combining the power to think with the inclination and ability to execute. Among them flourished hospitals and asylums. The higher classes prided themselves upon their courtesy, studying as fine arts banquet giving, dress, and deportment. As a school of rationalism and etiquette, Provence was the academy of Europe, and as such attracted a constant influx of immigrants and travellers.

The culture, mysticism, and rationalism of these pro-

vinces, which were then under the government of Count Raymond of Toulouse, attracted the jealousy and suspicion of the Church of Rome, which demanded the extirpation of the heretics.

The Catholic clergy were the objects of supreme dislike; so acute was the hatred felt for them that, when charged with anything unusually mean or atrocious, a Provençal would reply, "I do such a thing! Do you take me for a priest?" It was only in disguise that the clergy dared show themselves in public.

Hence the Church of Rome regarded the Provençals with an unfavourable eye, and in 1209 (under the pretext of avenging the murder of a Papal legate who had been commissioned as an inquisitor to extirpate heresy) Pope Innocent III. launched a crusade against the hapless district. For upwards of twenty years the Albigenses maintained a heroic resistance against the Papal forces. The period forms a tragic record of religious fanaticism, bloodthirsty barbarity, the ruthless massacre of whole towns and villages, of churches knee deep in the blood of unarmed women and children, of spoliation, depravity, cynicism, inhumanity, and finally a pitiful silence and desolation. At the sack of Beziers 20,000, or as some say 40,000, of its inhabitants were put to the sword. On inquiry being put to the Abbot of Citeaux as to how the soldiers were to distinguish between Catholic and heretic, the memorable reply was made: "Kill them *all*, God will know His own."

On the conclusion of "Peace" in 1229 the survivors were handed over to the tender zeal of the Dominicans, and the Inquisition. The persuasive functions of these bodies were such that, as History curtly records, the name of the Albigenses from the middle of the thirteenth

century gradually disappears, and "they soon became extinct."

The record of the Waldenses is even more tragic than that of their fellow-sufferers. They were anathematised in 1184 and again in 1215. In 1194 they were evicted from Aragon as being likely to sully the Catholic purity of Spain. There is reason to believe that on the occasion of this exodus (the forerunner of many others) they brought away with them the knowledge of papermaking, an art that for many years had flourished among their fellow-citizens the Moors. In 1209-1229 the Waldenses became involved in the destruction which overtook the Albigenses. Even their virtues were urged against them as being likely to lure others to their way of thinking. They were therefore punished "with a just cruelty without pity." To offer hospitality to a Waldensian was a capital offence. Gregory IX., by a Papal Bull of 1291, went further, by declaring the children of those who gave them asylum infamous to the second generation. At any time a Vaudois might recant and enter the Romish fold, in which case he was pardoned, but his tongue was torn out lest it uttered blasphemy in the future. In 1316 we find them being burnt at Toulouse. During the years 1336-1346 they were "seriously harassed." In 1393 the Inquisition burnt 150 of them in one day at Grenoble. In 1432 and later years we again hear of persecution. In 1475 and 1488 Innocent VIII. launched nefarious crusades against them. Their valleys were ravaged by fire and sword, their pastors were burnt, and the poor fugitives smoked to death in caves where they had endeavoured to take refuge. Yet, says History, "all the terrors of fire and sword and torture could not tear them from their faith."

In 1545 Francis I. burnt twenty-two of their villages, and massacred 4000 persons, as many more being driven into exile.

In 1655 persecution broke out again with such ferocious and obscene brutality, that details cannot be given. It was on this occasion that Milton wrote:—

> "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
> Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
> When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones.
> Forget not: in thy book record their groans
> Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
> Slain by the bloody Piemontese, that rolled
> Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
> The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
> To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
> O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
> The triple Tyrant; that from these may grow
> A hundredfold, who, having learnt thy way,
> Early may fly the Babylonian woe."

The story of the Cathari is embraced in the preceding outline. We are told they were gradually rooted out by the Inquisition, and that after the first half of the fourteenth century they "disappear from history."

The facts that I now bring forward seem, however, to prove that although persecution had the effect of scattering the sufferers, they tenaciously clung to their cherished tenets and traditions, conforming outwardly to the religions of the countries in which they took refuge. It is obvious that papermaking being an art in which they were proficient, they would employ it as a means of livelihood, in the same way as their unfortunate Huguenot successors carried their crafts with them after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. I think that the

obscure course of papermaking in Europe marks the track of Albigensian exiles, small bands of whom penetrated to England, and to the remotest parts of the Continent. The custom of watermarking is not found in oriental papers, but only in those of Europe.

It seems to have been a happy thought on the part of the papermakers to flash signals of hope and encouragement to their fellow-exiles in far distant countries, serving at the same time as an incentive to faith and godliness in themselves. Quarles' definition of an emblem as "a silent parable" is here peculiarly applicable, for if my surmises be correct, every ream turned out by these pious papermakers contained some five hundred heretical tracts, each of which ran its course under the unsuspecting nose of Orthodoxy.

FIG. 89.—15th century.

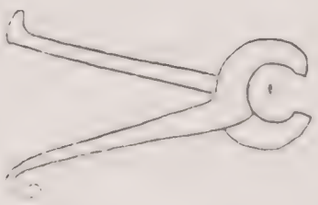


FIG. 90.—1454.

FIG. 91.—1320.

Figs. 89 to 94 are apparently emblems of persecution. The editors of Durandus state that the sword represents the instrument of martyrdom. The executioner's axe surmounted by the cross evidently has the same signification.

Fig. 94 represents a tool I do not recognise. Possibly it was an instrument of torture. The heart struck through by an arrow and a sword evidently typifies suffering.

The wing in Fig. 96 seems to have been an emblem of the Gospel. According to Durandus, the origin of eagle lecterns in churches is the passage, "He came flying upon

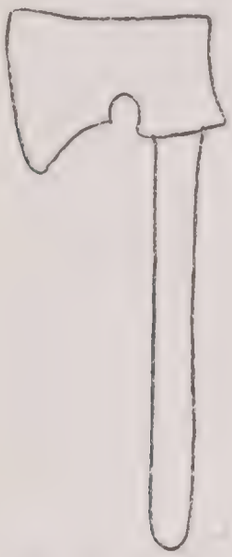


Fig. 92.—1349.

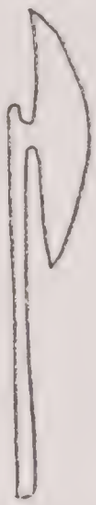


Fig. 93.—1354.

Fig. 94.—1333.

the wings of the winds." Or the wing may possibly bear the interpretation put upon it by Shakespeare, "Ignorance is the curse of God, *knowledge* the *wing* wherewith we fly to Heaven." This beautiful little emblem may, I think,

Fig. 95.—1576.

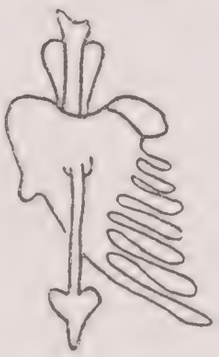


Fig. 96.—1473.

be read either as the Gospel wounded and proscribed by the Church of Rome, or knowledge struck down in its upward flight by the arrow of Orthodoxy. Similar in tenor are the ideas underlying the two keys shown in Figs. 97 to 100. Milton makes one of gold, the key of Heaven; the other of iron, the key of the prison in which the

wicked teachers are to be bound who "have taken away the key of knowledge, yet entered not in themselves."

"The hungry sheep look up and are not fed

. . . . . .

Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace and nothing said."

FIG. 97.—1463.

FIG. 98.—15th century.

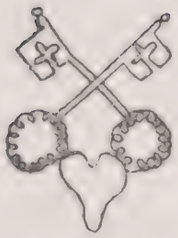


FIG. 99.
18th century.

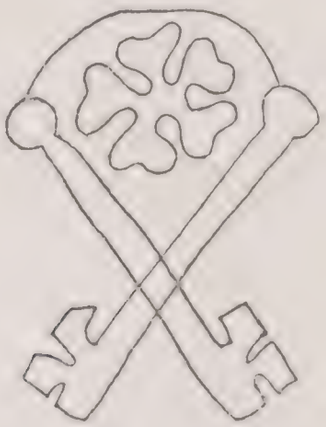


FIG. 100.
14th (?) century.

To the single key Durandus refers thus: "I, William, by the alone tender mercy of God, Bishop of the Holy Church which is in Mende,[1] will knock diligently at the

[1] A city in France.

door, if so be that 'the key of David' will open unto me: that the King may bring me to His Treasury, and shew unto me the Heavenly pattern."

Fig. 101.—15th century.

Fig. 102.—1427.

It will be observed that the hand in Fig. 102 is bounded by the trefoil. It evidently signifies the Hand of God. The key itself was, I imagine, the Spirit that unlocks the Letter.

The hand (see Figs. 22 to 26) among other significations denoted Faith, Fealty, Allegiance, and Alliance; it was pre-eminently a symbol of faith given or kept.

The sacred number 4 which occurs so constantly in watermarks was regarded by the ancient mystics as a most binding and solemn oath. One of the meanings attributed to the rose (see Figs. 217 to 226) was *secrecy*, whence our modern expression *sub rosa*. This flower was dedicated to the God of Silence, and was the emblem of reserve and faithfulness.

In view of the frequent employment of these symbols as papermarks, one is led to the conclusion that the scattered Albigenses constituted among themselves a form of secret society; indeed, such a conclusion is obvious, as the open avowal of their tenets invariably brought down upon them

an avalanche of tribulation. From Figs. 103, 104, and 105 we get interesting sidelights on their *modus operandi*. The

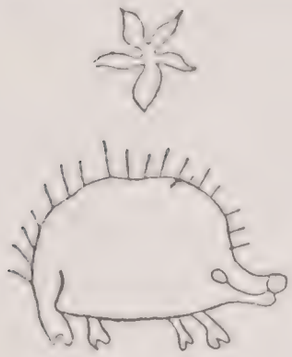


Fig. 103.—1560.

Fig. 104.—1551.

Fig. 105.—1578.

hedgehog, from its habit of rolling itself into a ball at the approach of an enemy, was regarded as the emblem of fortifying oneself against danger and of seizing opportunities. The bear, according to Valerian's vast *Hieroglyphicorum*, was considered as the symbol of *mores occulti* or concealed habits, because bears first taught men the advantages of dwelling securely in caves. They also hibernated during the long night of winter, living upon their own fat, and returning to life as soon as circumstances became sufficiently favourable. It is indubitable that many thoughtful men during the perilous Dark Ages regarded themselves as lurkers in solitary caves. The idea is exactly conveyed in the title given to an alchemical treatise entitled "Zoroaster's Cave, or the Philosophers' Intellectual Echo to One Another from their Cells."

I am convinced that papermarks were but one among many means by which the philosophers "echoed to one another" and intercommunicated. It is stated by Schmidt in his *Histoire des Cathares* that the Albigenses had secret signs of recognition, and that they formed among themselves a complete system of Church Government, all the

offices of which were secretly but efficiently exercised. This spiritual Communion its members regarded as the only true and Catholic Church of the Holy Spirit, and it was propagated by many and extraordinary means. Enthusiastic missionaries carried its secrets from province to province, and made converts not only by the purity of their lives, but by their claims to ability to solve the deepest problems of philosophy. This mystic Church, whose so-called members claimed to receive daily visitations from their Invisible Chief the Holy Spirit, numbered innumerable preachers supervised by a hierarchy of twelve disciples and sixty-four bishops. By some historians it is said to have been governed by a supreme Chief or Pope, but Schmidt remarks that whether this was so or not is a problem most difficult to solve. The appearance of a Pope in watermark (Fig. 106) answers, I think, the question finally in the affirmative. The reality of this Heretical Church is generally admitted by historians. In his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, Lea states that the heretics were "visited every two years by the travelling pastors or *barbes*, who came in pairs; an elder known as the *reggitore*, and a younger, the *coadjutore*, journeying with some pretence of occupation, finding in every city the secret band of believers whom it was their mission to comfort and keep steadfast in the faith. Everywhere they met friends acquainted with their secret passwords, and in spite of ecclesiastical vigilance there existed throughout Italy a subterranean network of heresy disguised under outward conformity."

FIG. 106.
15th century.

The Heretical Church was divided roughly into two groups—*credentes*, the believers, and *perfecti*, the perfect

ones. The first condition for the exercise of the ministry was moral perfection and absolute purity. The mission of the *perfecti* was to conduct the *credentes* into spiritual safety, preparing them for the reception of the Holy Spirit. In order to be able to impart the Holy Spirit to others, it was deemed essential to acquire it oneself by spotless living.

No risks deterred the Perfect Ones from their proselytising efforts. It is stated by Schmidt that their zeal was incredible, and that they would cross seas and continents in the hope to converting one single soul to their tenets. In the year 1240 it was estimated that 4000 Albigensian Perfect Ones were scouring Europe under various disguises, such as troubadours, pedlars, and merchants. "We lead," writes one of them, "a life hard and wandering. We fly from town to town like sheep among wolves. We suffer persecution like the Apostles and Martyrs, yet our life is holy and austere. It is spent in prayers and abstinence, and in works which nothing can interrupt. But these things are not difficult, for we are no longer of this world."

I quote from another Perfect One :—

"We endure many evils and make a hard penance, but we know that the entry into Paradise is difficult, and that we must pay for it the price of our flesh and blood."

This quotation furnishes a complete key to the meaning of "Bull's Head" emblems, of which some typical specimens are reproduced herewith. They all represent *Per ardua ad astra* ("Through hardships to the stars"). I do not explain each of these marks in detail, but the reader may do so for himself with the knowledge that the ox was emblematic of Patience and Strength. It was regarded as a type of all those who bore the yoke and laboured in silence for the good of others. From these virtues arose, or de-

FIG. 107.

FIG. 108.

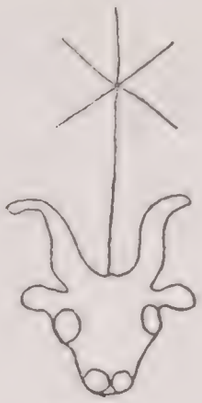


FIG. 109.

FIG. 110.

FIG. 111.

FIG. 112.

FIG. 113.

FIG. 114.

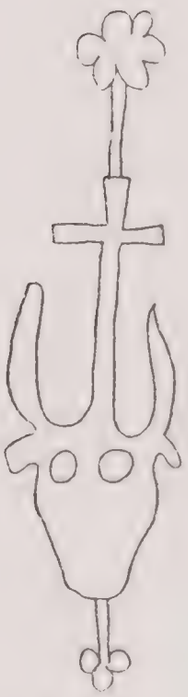


FIG. 115.

EMBLEMS OF *Per ardua ad astra* (15th and 16th centuries).

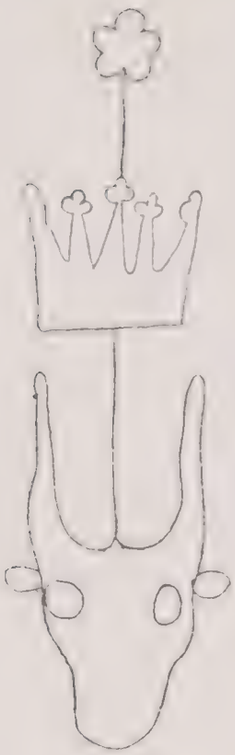


FIG. 116.

FIG. 117.—1400.

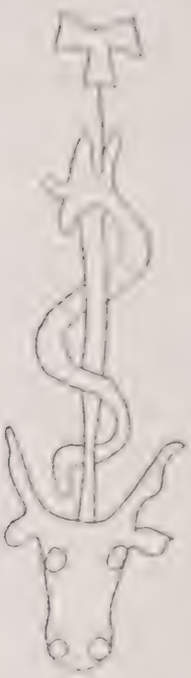


FIG. 118.

FIG. 119.

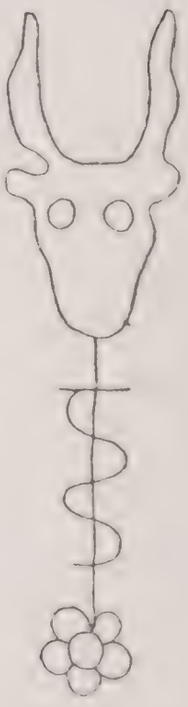


FIG. 120.

EMBLEMS OF *Per ardua ad astra* (15th and 16th centuries).

FIG. 121.

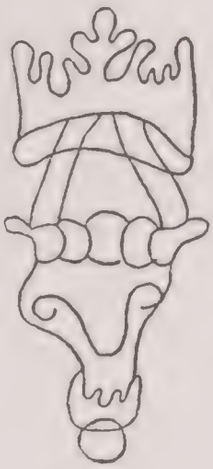


FIG. 122.

FIG. 123.

FIG. 124.—1530.

pended, according to the fancy of the emblem designer, the Cross of Salvation, the Crown of Celestial Victory, the Tau of Regeneration, the Serpent of healing, the Fleur de Lys or Flower of Light, the mystic Rose of Paradise, and the Star of Nirvana.

The Albigenses were very perfect exponents of Patience. Sufferance was the badge of all their tribe, and with the experiences of Job they must have shared a melancholy sympathy. It is recorded by a contemporary as an instance of Albigensian knowledge of the Scriptures, that a peasant could recite from memory the entire Book of Job.

Among the *Little Flowers* of St Francis of Assisi we find the sentiment, "He that with firm humility and patience doth suffer and endure tribulation through his burning love for God will soon attain unto high graces and virtue, and will be lord of this world and will have an

earnest of the glorious world to come." In Fig. 125, which is classed by Mons. Briquet among other examples of watermarked crowns, will be observed the phrase MANET ULTIMA CŒLO ("It is awaiting me in the highest Heaven").

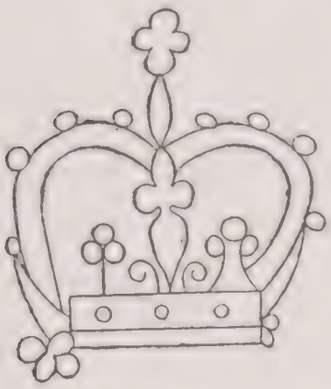


FIG. 124A.

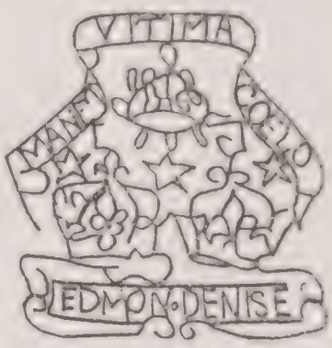


FIG. 125.—1584.

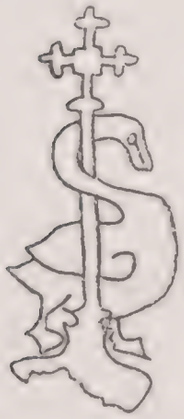


FIG. 126.—1526.

FIG. 127.—15th century.

Figs. 126 and 127 are swans. The swan "is a perfect embleme and pattern to us that our death ought to be cheerful and life not so deare unto us as it is." Socrates declared that good men ought to imitate swans, who, perceiving by a secret instinct what gain there was in death, die singing with joy.

Figs. 128 to 131 are bells, and I cannot do better than let Durandus explain them in his own words. "By their sound," he says, "the faithful may be mutually cheered on towards their reward that the devotion of the Faith may be increased in them. Just as the watchmen in a camp rouse

one another by trumpets, so do the ministers of the Church excite each other by the sound of bells to watch the livelong night."

"Again," he continues, "Bells do signify preachers who ought after the likeness of a Bell to exhort the faith-

Fig. 128.—1446.

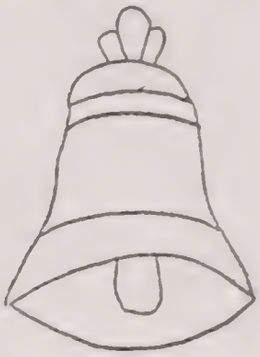


Fig. 129.—15th century.

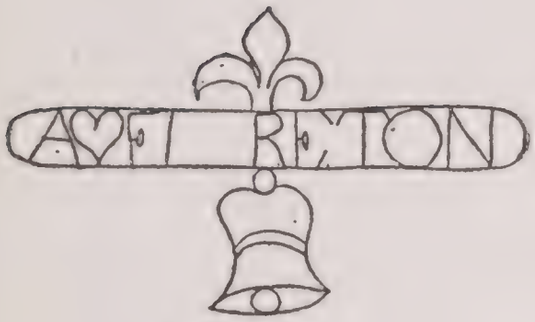


Fig. 130.—1700.

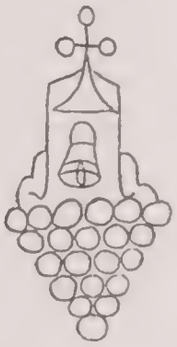


Fig. 131.—1557.

ful unto faith. The hardness of the metal signifieth fortitude in the mind of the preacher. The clapper or iron which by striking on either side maketh the sound, doth denote the tongue of the preacher, the which with the adornment of learning doth cause both Testaments to resound. The striking of the Bell denoteth that a preacher ought first of all to strike at the vices in himself for correction, and then advance to blame those of others. The link by which the clapper is joined or bound unto the bell, is moderation," etc. etc., and so he goes on expounding in detail the wood of the frame, the pegs, the iron clamps,

the rope, and the action of bell-ringing. The ringer when pulling *downwards* "understandeth the Scripture according to the Letter which killeth; he is drawn upwards when he expoundeth the same according to the Spirit."

I have quoted Durandus at some length, as a specimen of the extraordinary manner in which the mystics spiritualised everything material. The same writer makes some additional remarks about a second and smaller type of bell, which he terms a *squilla*. To this word his editors add a footnote that they conceive that "the sort of a bell here meant is a kind of handbell formed out of a hollow ball of metal furnished with a slit for the sound, and with a loose pellet inside. This answers to the *squilla* in shape, and utters a very shrill sound."

Evidently Figs. 132 and 133 represent the *squilla* which,

FIG. 132.

FIG. 133.

according to Durandus, "by its sharp sound signifieth Paul preaching acutely." It is worthy of note that in some districts the Albigenses were known as "Poblicans," which is said to have been a corruption of Paulicians. Their fondness for the Paulician doctrine "The Letter killeth" curiously associates them with this little squilla of acute Paulician preaching.

While Durandus is discussing the larger sized or ordinary bell, he notes that the rope from which it hung is composed of *three* strands, representing the Trinity of Scripture, namely, History, Allegory, and Morality. The

reader will observe the little symbol of his Trinity, which almost invariably surmounts Bell emblems.

An older document than the *Rationale* of Durandus is *The Mystical Mirror of the Church*, by Hugo de Sancto Victor. From this I draw the following interpretation of Figs. 134 and 136: "The cock representeth preachers.

FIG. 134.—1380.

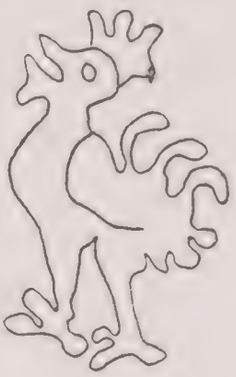


FIG. 135.—1380.

FIG. 136.—18th century.

For the cock in the deep watches of the night divideth the hours thereof with his song; he arouseth the sleepers; he fore-telleth the approach of day, but first he stirreth up himself to crow by the striking of his wings. Behold ye these things mystically, for not one is there without meaning. The sleepers be the children of this world lying in sins. The cock is the company of preachers which do preach sharply, do stir up the sleepers to cast away the works of darkness, crying "Woe to the sleepers! Awake thou that sleepest!"

This author proceeds, like Durandus, to the extremest limits of detailed interpretation.

In Figs. 137 and 138 I think we have pictures of the Perfect Ones preaching. Observe over Fig. 137 the Tau sign of him who cries over the abominations of the city.

FIG. 137.—1570.

FIG. 139.—1419.

FIG. 138.—1436.

FIG. 140.—1542.

FIG. 141.—1547.

Fig. 141 is presumably the Angel of the Annunciation holding a lily. Fig. 139 is, I surmise, a defective attempt at the same subject; if not, I should interpret it as a Perfect One preaching acutely with his right arm, while holding in his left hand the white flower of a blameless life.

CHAPTER V

ROMAUNT EMBLEMS

IN their crusade against the abuses of the Church of Rome, the Albigenses found ardent auxiliaries among their fellow countrymen, the Troubadours. It is almost impossible to overestimate the influence exercised by these all-powerful minstrels. Wandering from town to town and castle to castle, their lyrics swayed the minds of not their own countrymen alone, but of all Europe from sovereign to peasant. Few things could resist their ridicule, and no memories were beyond their power to perpetuate.

When, in 1209-1226, the Church of Rome devastated the Albigensian provinces, the home of the Troubadours was demolished, its laws and customs were reversed, and its language was proscribed and extinguished. But this transmutation of a beautiful and peaceful country into a wild desert sown with unburied corpses, recoiled disastrously upon the perpetrators of the wrong. The expatriated Troubadours found for themselves asylums in all parts of Europe, where they kept alive the story of Romish barbarity, and added perpetual fuel to the smouldering fires of heresy.

Not only were Troubadours the constant attendants on learned princes, but they were the *confidantes* and companions of learned men. Their profession embraced the callings of poet, musician, chronicler, *litterateur*, and

theologian. It is remarkable to find what a large number of princes and representatives of noble families forsook their stations and enrolled themselves in the Troubadour ranks. Among them occur such names as Richard Cœur de Lion, Alphonse II. of Aragon, and the Counts of Poitou, Provence, and Toulouse. The courtly and poetic Troubadours prepared the youth of both sexes for society, and drew up rules for their guidance. We find them giving advice such as the following:—"Shun the companionship of fools, impertinents, or meddlers, lest you pass for the same. Never indulge in buffoonery, scandals, deceit, or falsehood. Be frank, generous, and brave; be obliging and kind; study neatness in your dress, and let elegance of fashion make up for plainness of material. Never allow a seam to remain ripped and gaping; it is worse than a rent: the first shows ill-breeding, the last only poverty, which is by far the lesser evil of the two. There is no great merit in dressing well if you have the means: but a display of neatness and taste on a small income is a sure token of superiority of spirit," etc. etc.

Referring to the refining influence of the Troubadours, J. F. Rowbotham writes: "Before the rise of the troubadours, and the humanizing effect of their songs, and the contagious influence of their refined pleasures, these same castles which gave so ready a welcome to them and their courtly train, were often the morose homes of rapine and semi-barbarism. To suppress the excesses of individuals and to effect a change in the general character of an era, the only effectual means is the slow creation of a public opinion favourable to the new ideas. It should seem that nothing is so conducive towards influencing public opinion as the existence of an art such as that of the

troubadours, which could infuse itself at every turn into the most unguarded moments of private life, and which was devoted to the encouragement of blitheness and gaiety. It was carried on by those who professed it, not in any spirit of self-seeking, but with the most chivalrous and ideal aims. And when the noblest and wealthiest men in the land go so far that they can consecrate their talents and their possessions to the pursuit of a high ideal, we need not be surprised if the rudeness and ferocity of their neighbours and friends is mitigated and subdued, even if it be not totally extinguished."

Rowbotham, commenting upon their "unfortunate attitude towards the Church," *i.e.* the intellectual contempt which they displayed towards the Papacy, observes: "We must bear in mind in studying the history of the troubadours that this spirit, which was so strongly pronounced in the first of their race, was in a manner common more or less to all. Whether it were a secret unbelief or a spirit of social rebellion engendered by luxury and looseness of life, certain it is that the troubadours throughout their history will generally be found to constitute the anti-clerical party."

Aroux is emphatic in his assertion that the Troubadours [1]

[1] Under the term "Troubadour" I include the kindred order of Jesters. "As to the Jesters," says Aroux—"properly so named Jesters of song, of sayings, of romance, as they were called—they must be distinguished from the mimic-jesters, that is to say from the mountebanks and buffoons. The clerical jesters were, as has already been said, evangelical ministers, still subject to the preliminary discipline of the priesthood. Holding the rank of deacons in the sectarian church, they were with regard to the pastors to whom they were attached in a position analogous to that of squires to knights, and it is under this title that they figure in the romances. If distinguished Troubadours are spoken of, and among others Giraud de Borneil, as always accompanied by two jesters, it is unquestionable that these Troubadours were Albigensian Bishops, whose dignity and functions required the assistance of

were Albigensian heretics, and that it was under the disguise of Jongleurs' hoods that the Albigensian pastors visited their scattered flocks, and insinuated their proscribed doctrines.

The sentiments of the Troubadours towards the official custodians of Christianity may be judged from the following passage:—"Rome that sink of corruption; I know that I shall be blamed for speaking against it, but I cannot hold my peace. It does not amaze me that the whole world is enveloped in sin, for I know how carefully, how earnestly, how incessantly, how widely you have sown the seeds of war and corruption. Blinded as you are, you shear your flock even to the skin! With the Holy Spirit to aid I will stop your mouth. Rome more perfidious than all the Greeks, blind leader of the blind! Disregarding the rules laid down by Heaven, you sell absolution for money, you load your shoulders with a burden that will sink you down to the pit. Your principles are abominable, your habits are treacherous. God confound you Rome!" And so the poet goes on, mingling his accusations with fearful imprecations, and comforting himself with the conviction that the power of Rome was declining, and its reign nearly at an end.

"It appears reasonable," says the cautious Heckethorn,

two deacons." Again, says Aroux: "Nothing was more common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the countries of the Provencal tongue to see knights, castellans, canons, clerics become Troubadours or simple Jesters."

"The Jongleurs," says J. F. Rowbotham, "acted, if we may so express it, the same part which is played by publishers at the present day. The expression is not ours, but Petrarch's, who, in alluding to the functions of the jongleur in one of his Letters to Boccaccio, explicitly introduces this comparison. He deduces their similarity to publishers, and compares the parallel condition of a work when it had been recited by a jongleur to admiring crowds and when it had been issued in print or manuscript by a publisher and sold to admiring purchasers."

"to consider the Troubadours as the originators of that vast conspiracy directed against the Church of Rome; the champions of a revolt which had not for its guide and object material interests and vulgar ambitions, but a religion and a polity of Love."

The evidence from watermarks confirms the presumption that the Troubadours did indeed form a link in that

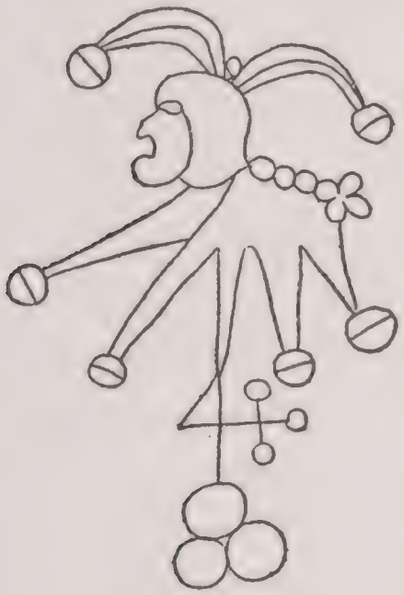


FIG. 142.—1681.

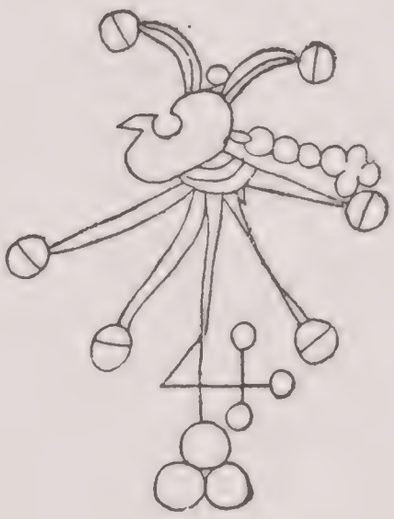


FIG. 143.—1683.

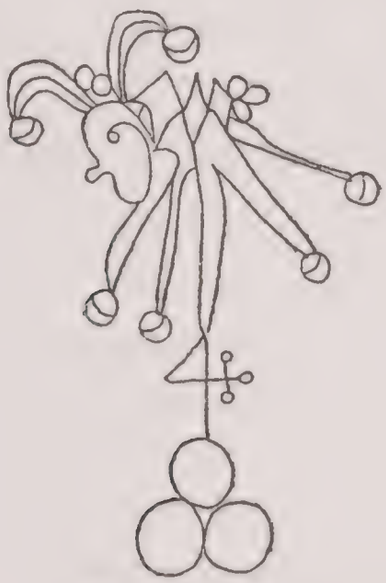


FIG. 144.—1655.

long chain of rational mysticism which the Papacy from its earliest days made such frantic but ineffectual efforts to break.

There were four degrees of Troubadours, but the *Romaunt of the Rose* divides them into four and three, producing the mystic number seven. Observe at the bases of Figs. 142, 143, and 144 this figure of four and three. Observe too, how every watermarked figure of a Troubadour is distinguished by a kind of pigtail in the form of a cross, doubtless the badge of his degree. The different styles of Troubadour literature are classified by some writers into seven divisions: the Gallant, the Historical, the Didactic, the Satirical, the Theological, the Mystical, and the Hermetic. Whether these corresponded to the seven grades or no, I cannot tell, but the supposition seems probable.

The Troubadours were conspicuous as Pilgrims of Love, *Fidèles d'Amour*, and Knights Errant in the service of a mysterious Lady, whom they exalt under various names, such as Star, Flower, Light, Rose, and Flower of Flowers. This service of Love was described as an "art" and a "science," their "*gai savoir*," their "*gai science*," and there is no doubt whatever that under a well-recognised erotic jargon matters and ideas of great moment were communicated to the scattered *fidèles*. As was pointed out seventy years ago by Gabriele Rossetti, many little love poems which we are in the habit of regarding to-day as amatory trifles are in reality works of a recondite character, which enshrine doctrines traditionally handed down from past ages. The Troubadours made very little effort to dissemble the patent fact. "Thou can'st go," says one of them, addressing his own love poem, "whither thou wilt: I have dressed thee so well that thou will be understood by those endowed with intelligence: of others thou need'st not be concerned." Again we find them deprecating the necessity for their obscure mannerisms. "Let none blame

me," says Gavaudin, "for selecting a cloudy style of writing, or at least, let them reserve their censure until they are capable of sifting the wheat that lies therein from the chaff."

Figs. 145 and 146 are representations of the mystic Lady who was so persistently besought to cast down the Roman

Fig. 145.—1587.

Fig. 146.—1584.

She-Wolf, and to crush the Pontifical serpent. The interpretation placed upon this symbol seems to have varied considerably in detail, but very little in essence. Dante, the Herald of the Renaissance, and, according to Aroux, a great fountain of Heresy and a leader of the Albigensian Church, writes: "I say and affirm that the lady of whom I was enamoured after my first love was the most beautiful and most pure daughter of the Emperor of the Universe to whom Pythagoras gave the name Philosophy."

In the same strain wrote Giordano Bruno: "I am displeased with the bulk of mankind; I hate the vulgar rout; I despise the authority of the multitude, and am enamoured with one particular Lady. 'Tis for her that I am free in servitude, content in pain, rich in necessity and alive in

death. . . . Hence it is even for my passion for this beauty that, as being weary, I draw not back my feet from the difficult road, nor, as being lazy, hang down my hands from the work that is before me: I turn not my shoulders as grown desperate, to the enemy that contends with me, nor, as dazzled divert my eyes from the divine object. . . . 'Tis for the love of True Wisdom and by the studious admiration for this Mistress that I fatigue, that I disquiet, that I torment myself."

The moon upon her forehead identifies our lady in papermark as Diana, the Moon Goddess, worshipped among the Greeks as Artemis the pure and spotless one. The mediæval cult of the Virgin SOPHIA passed through many remarkable phases. It is curious to find among some thinkers the idea that one of the Persons of the Trinity was a Woman. In watermarks of a later period we find the allegorical Virgin has been placed in an oval, doubtless in allusion to the so-called Mundane Egg of the philosophers. The Ephesian Temple of Diana was, I am told, constructed in the form of an oval, and the frequent use of the Egg as a symbol leads one to the suspicion that the mediæval philosophers knew something about Evolution. "Our reading shews," says Rutherford, "that much more was known to the few 600 or 700 years ago, than modern savants are inclined to think. Strange and startling glimpses of this knowledge flicker over the pages of the poets and romancists of the Middle Ages."

In addition to their function as Pilgrims of Love, the Troubadours were the Fathers and exponents of the mystic Chivalry which flourished during the dark ages, and was employed as an effective engine against the abuses of Feudalism and religious despotism. Troubadours were in

effect the shuttles by which was woven over the face of Europe the marvellous fabric of Romantic Mysticism, comprising the *Romances of the Round Table*, *King Charlemagne and his Peers*, the *Legends of the St. Grail* and the *Romaunt of the Rose*. These vast cycles of mystic literature, written and declaimed by the Troubadours, spread like wildfire over Europe, and were translated into many languages. They served as heretical Scriptures, from which were drawn lessons of encouragement and morality. It is curious to note that the Round Table of King Arthur numbered *Twelve* Knights, that in the cycle of Charlemagne we encounter the *Twelve* peers of France, that Peter Waldo, from whom the Waldenses took their name, launched his crusade by means of "12 Poor Men of Lyons"—facts all pointing significantly to the Twelve Disciples of Jesus Christ and the Twelve Disciples of the Hierarchy of the Albigensian Church. The oldest and best of the Charlemagne Romances is the *Song of Roland*, the power and dignity of which modern French scholars vie with one another in extolling. Roland was a pseudo-historical hero, whose exploits formed an exhaustless theme of interest. The story is obviously an allegory. Heckethorn states that the powerful voice of the furious Roland, which made breaches in the granite rocks of the mountains, was a representation of the Albigensian Heresy, which had found its way into Spain, thus anticipating the saying of Louis XIV., "There are no longer any Pyrenees." Aroux is of this same opinion, and he adds the important information that the great Horn upon which Roland waked the echoes was regarded as the symbol of Albigensian *preaching*.

Figs. 147 to 153 represent the Horn of Roland, and in

FIG. 147.—1370.

FIG. 148.—1378.

FIG. 149.—1435.

FIG. 150.—1488.

FIG. 151.—17th century.

FIG. 152.—1442.

FIG. 153.—18th century.

FIG. 154.—1586 and 1650.

Fig. 154 we have a portrait of the Hero himself, "and straightway has he raised the horn to his mouth. Firmly has he grasped it and sounded it with vigour. Lofty are the hills and very loud the echo, and the sound can be heard full fifteen leagues away. And the Emperor Charles has heard it and all his host of vassals; and the King spake: 'our men are giving battle.' But Ganelon said, 'Had another man said this it had seemed a fearful falsehood.' With pain and great endeavour has Roland sounded his horn, and the bright blood is streaming from his mouth, and both his temples has he broken in the endeavour. But exceedingly great and loud is the noise, and Charles has heard it as he passed across the border; and Naimes the Duke has heard it, and now the Frenchmen listen."

We have already seen that the Bell was regarded as a symbol of preaching. Exceedingly significant is the fact that the great bell which had swung for centuries in the belfry of the free city of Ghent was known as "Roland." This great bell was the special object of the Burghers' affection. "It seemed," says Motley, "as if it were a living historical personage endowed with the human powers and passions which it had so long directed and inflamed."

On the subjection of Ghent the great bell "Roland" was condemned and sentenced to immediate removal! Its iron tongue was said to have been capable of bringing 80,000 fighting men to the city banner.

But the *Song of Roland* is thrown into comparative obscurity by the multitudinous legends of the St Grail. The general development of the stories which cluster round this precious Talisman may be summed up as the gradual transformation of Oriental and Celtic myths into a legend

saturated with Christian mysticism. Mr Alfred Nutt, who is perhaps our greatest authority upon Folk-lore, observes that the Grail Romances are "disconcertingly unorthodox," claiming an origin so illustrious that "if seriously maintained" they would have been most unwelcome to the chief Ecclesiastical authority of Christendom. He points out that they set up a kind of uncanonical Church, claiming to excel the official Church of Christendom. "Is it," he asks, "too rash a conjecture that the Grail romances reveal in part early attempts to claim for the knightly priesthood a position and sanction equal if not superior to those of the regular priesthood?"

The evidence of papermarks appears to prove that Mr Nutt's conjecture is well founded, and that the Grail Romances (amounting, it is said, to a bulk equal to that of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*) were nothing less than the Scriptures of the Albigensian Church.

Just as before the elimination of the uncanonical writers the world possessed innumerable Gospels relating to Jesus Christ, so do we find multitudinous versions of the Gospel of the St Grail. The Legend was regarded with the highest reverence; indeed, its authorship was confidently ascribed to Jesus Christ. "All these wonders," says Helinandus, "are true, as Christ Himself wrote the Book of the Holy Grail and save it naught else but the Lord's Prayer and the judgment on the woman taken in adultery." The precise meaning of the Saint Grail, or Holy Chalice, is as obscure and indefinable as that of the Philosopher's Stone, but a strong and unexpected beam of light is cast upon the subject by papermarks, which, as will be seen, illustrate multitudinous phases of the Legend.

In pre-Christian times, the St Grail appears as a

Talisman of increase and plenty. Taliesin ben Beirdd, the famous poet, says : " This vessel inspires poetic genius, gives wisdom, discovers the knowledge of futurity, the mysteries of the world, the whole treasure of human sciences." The Rev. S. Baring-Gould points out that this vessel of the liquor of wisdom held a most prominent place in British mythology. Taliesin, in the description of his initiation into the mysteries of the vase, cries out, "I have lost my speech!" because on all who had been admitted to the privileges of full membership, secrecy was imposed. This initiation was regarded as a new birth, and those who had once become members were regarded as elect, regenerate, separate from the rest of mankind, who lay in darkness and ignorance.

The salient features of the Legend, as reconstructed by the Troubadours on a Christian basis, are as follows :—

The St Grail was the cup used by Christ at the Last Supper. It was employed by Joseph of Arimathea to catch the blood that flowed from the wounded side of the crucified Saviour. Subsequently it was taken to Heaven until such a time as a line of heroes could be found on Earth worthy to be entrusted with its guardianship. The Knights of the Grail fulfilling the requisite conditions, the sacred vessel, with the name *Graal* blazoned upon it, was left behind on Earth by a band of spirits as they winged their way to their celestial abode. The Holy Chalice was delivered to "Titurel," at whose birth an angel had announced that God had chosen him to be a Defender of the Faith.

Bergmann, in his essay on the St Grail, observes that it was the symbol of grace and salvation. It was: but the testimony from papermarks proves further that it was held sacred as a symbol of the celestial influence personified

by the term Holy Spirit—the very essence of the Mystic Universal Church.

The Legend tells that when the precious Talisman was entrusted to Earth, it was deposited in a lordly castle built for its reception. Bergmann notes that its guardians, the Templars, although Christians, rather resemble an association formed without the pale of the Church than a Catholic community.

Some writers situate the Castle-Temple on a mountain in the midst of a thick wood, "symbolic," says Bergmann, "of moral elevation and sanctity." Figs. 155 to 158 are representations of this castle. At the base of Fig. 155 note the sacred "4," and on the summit observe three semi-circles. These three objects, used in varying forms, see Figs. 159 to 164 (they were, I believe, the Arms of Bohemia), denoted the three Mounts, Sinai, Moriah, and Calvary. From Sinai, the Law was given; on Moriah, Solomon built his Temple; and on Calvary, Christ suffered. They were regarded as the emblem of moral elevation and high thinking, a representation of the Silver Mountains whence spring the Nectar fountains. Observe that from Figs. 158 and 159 arise the same happy issues as those depicted emanating from the Bull's Head on p. 48, Fig. 116. The object above Fig. 157 is evidently a variant of the Tau.

The warfare waged by the Grail Knights against the enemies of the Holy Vase was regarded as a symbol of the perpetual struggle which every Christian ought to maintain against his own evil propensities. We find everywhere as supreme an insistence upon purity as a necessity among Grail Knights as among Albigensian *perfecti* and pastors. A single unclean thought was reputed sufficient to deprive

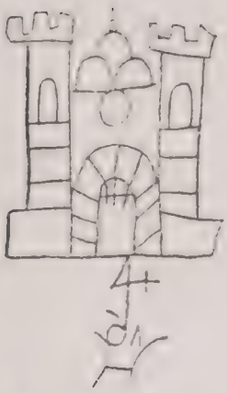


FIG. 155.—1566.

FIG. 157.—1440.

FIG. 156.—1459.

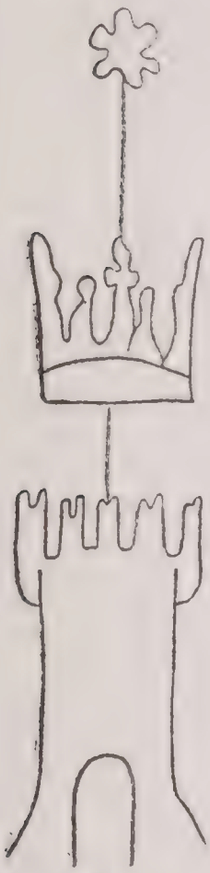


FIG. 158.—1473.

FIG. 160.
15th century.

FIG. 159.
15th century.

FIG. 161.—1472.

FIG. 162.
15th century.

FIG. 163.
15th century.

FIG. 164.
1438.

the Knight of the Grail of the joys and privileges attached to its service.

In Figs. 165 to 213 we have a series of designs embodying the manifold phases of the Grail cult. Many of these emblems it is beyond my ability to decipher, but others are sufficiently simple to understand.

In Figs. 165 and 166 the Dove of the Holy Spirit is resting on the sacred vessel, and the body of the Grail is decorated with seven pearls, clearly an emblem of the words :

> "Thou the anointing Spirit art
> Who dost Thy *seven*fold gifts impart."

According to the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, the Grail yielded all manner of food and drink, its powers being sustained by a Dove which every Good Friday laid a Host upon it. Another version of the allegory relates that Joseph, having been miraculously delivered from prison, was exiled in company with the sister of Veronica, who had with her a *Vera Icon*, and passed into Britain, the promised Land, with a large following. When short of food, Joseph prayed for the Grail; it was sent, and the company had bread and wine and meat in plenty.

In cases where we find the Grail watermarks piled high with grapes, it is obvious they represent the celestial food, typified by the giant bunch of grapes, which Caleb and Joshua brought away from the land of Canaan as a sign of the milk and honey reported to be overflowing there.

In Figs. 208 to 213 the symbols rise to supremely beautiful heights. Observe that these complicated marks form the outlines of sacramental cups. The upper portions, consisting of Fleurs de Lys, Roses, Stars, and pearls of Heavenly Wisdom, symbolise the Celestial Regions. From

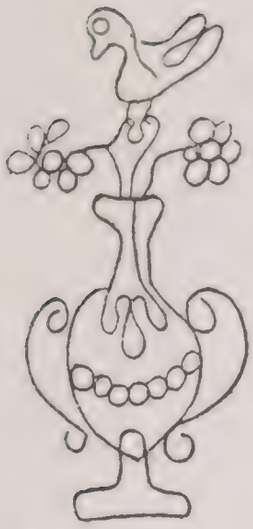


FIG. 165.—1599.

FIG. 166.—1600.

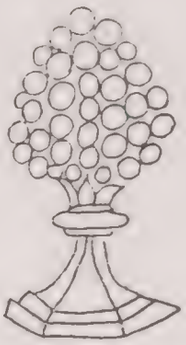


FIG. 167.

FIG. 168.

FIG. 169.
15th century.

FIG. 170.
15th century.

FIG. 171.
15th century.

FIG. 172.
1634.

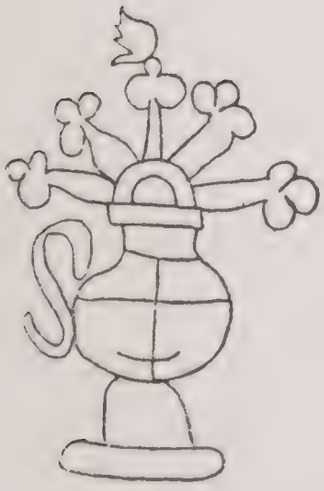


FIG. 173.
17th century.

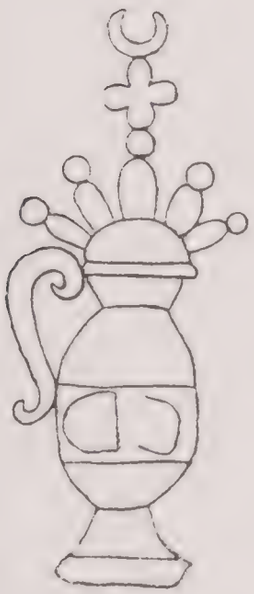


FIG. 174.
17th century.

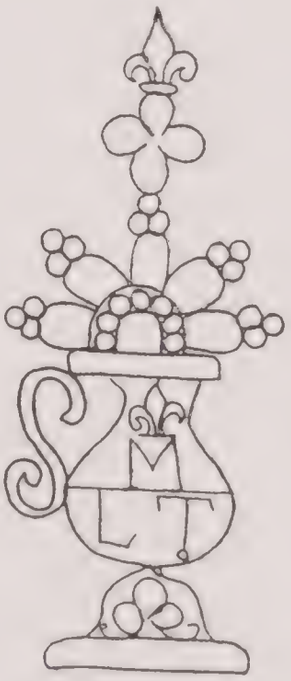


FIG. 175.
17th century.

FIG. 176.
17th century.

FIG. 177.
1628.

FIG. 178.
1628.

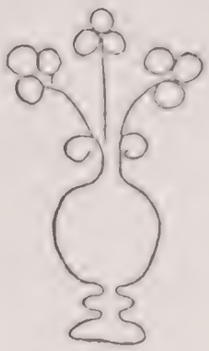


FIG. 179.
1628.

FIG. 180
1628.

FIG. 181.
17th century.

FIG. 182.
17th century.

FIG. 183.
17th century.

FIG. 184.
17th century.

FIG. 185.
17th century.

FIG. 186.
17th century.

FIG. 187.
17th century.

FIG. 188.
17th century.

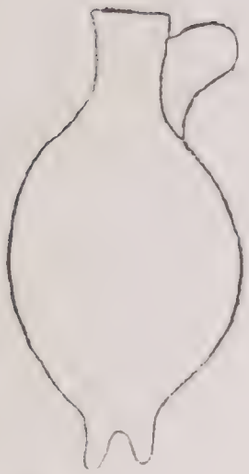


FIG. 189.—1344.

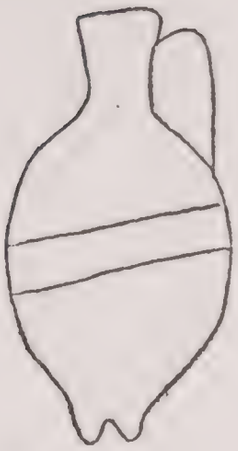


FIG. 190.—1324.

FIG. 191.—1605.

FIG. 192.—1605.

FIG. 193.—1605.

FIG. 194.—1605.

FIG. 195.—1605.

FIG. 196.—1605.

FIG. 197.—1605.

FIG. 198.—1605.

FIG. 199.—1605.

FIG. 200.—1605.

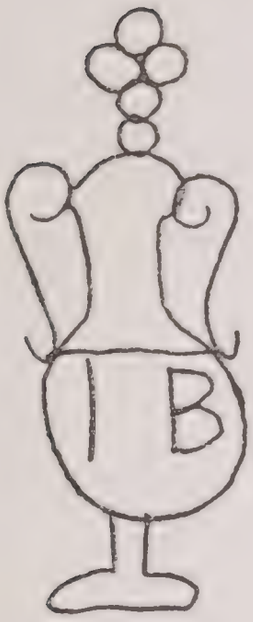


FIG. 201.—1605.

FIG. 202.—1605.

FIG. 203.—1605.

FIG. 204.—1605.

FIG. 205.
17th century.

FIG. 206.
17th century.

FIG. 207.
17th century.

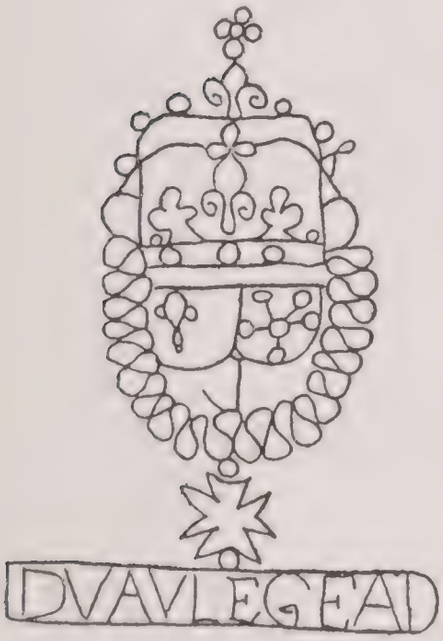


FIG. 208.—17th century.

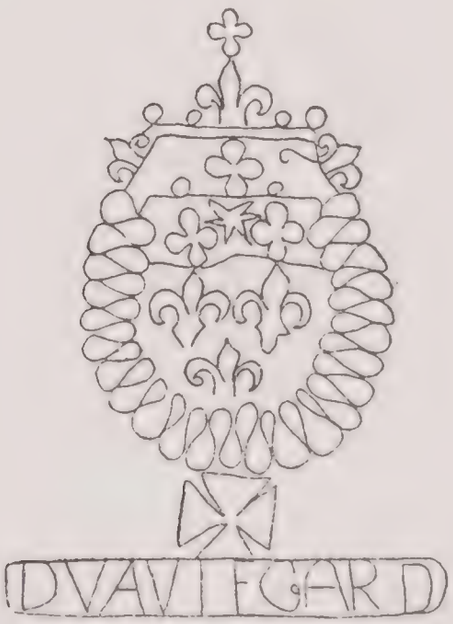


FIG. 209.—17th century.

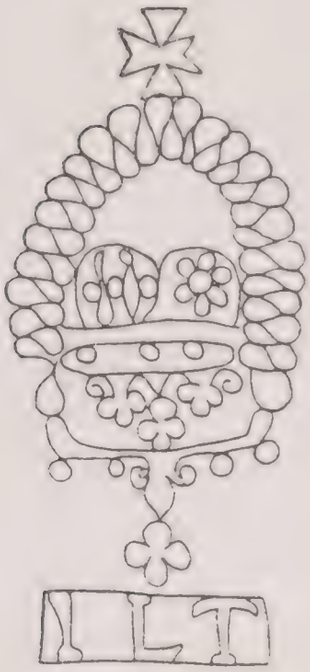


Fig. 210.—17th century.

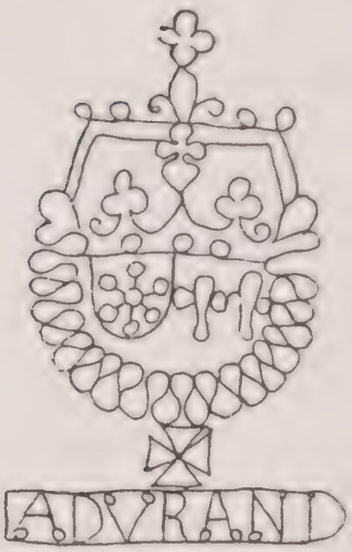


Fig. 211.—17th century.

Fig. 212.—17th century.

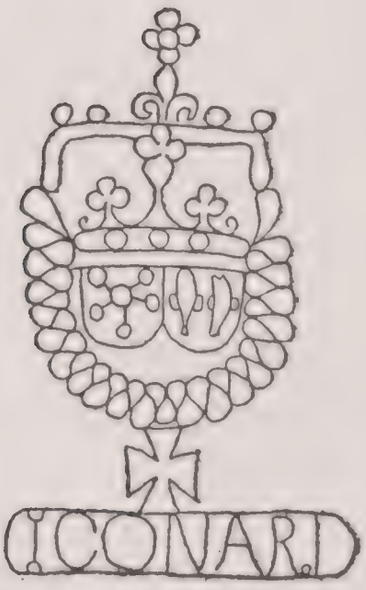


Fig. 213.—17th century.

these descends and ascends a chain of links; each link an S. This collar of SS, which is referred to in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.*, denotes the Holy Spirit: the links reading either in groups of three, when they denote the exclamation S(*anctus*) S(*anctus*) S(*anctus*)! or in groups of two, when they imply S(*anctus*) S(*piritus*).[1] The Maltese Cross of

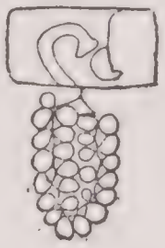


Fig. 214.—17th century.

eight points was the symbol of the Eight Beatitudes. Within the enclosure of the Spiritual chain will be observed two fishes and five[2] circles, probably a representation of the miraculous five loaves and two small fishes with which Christ fed the multitude. It will be observed that in some cases a solitary fish is depicted. The explanation is to be found in the Romance of the Grand St Grail, one of the longest and latest in the cycle. Alain's fishing is described, and how having caught *a* fish that suffices to feed all the company, he is called the Rich Fisher, a title borne after him by all the Grail keepers.

Beneath Figs. 208 and 209 may be seen the phrase, "May God protect it," the "it," being without doubt the Spiritual Church of the Grail.

On reviewing the various attributes of the St Grail, its qualities of producing food to the taste of every partaker, and its abilities to cause heretofore desert lands to blossom

[1] In Fig. 214 the designer has formed the chain into a bunch of grapes.

[2] The exceptional appearance of *six* loaves, I am unable at present to explain.

into fruit and beauty, it is abundantly clear that we are face to face with an emblem of the Spirit which giveth life, in contradistinction to the Letter which killeth. Hence it is only a step further to recognise the employment of the sacred light-containing cup as an Emblem of MAN himself, the so-called Temple of the Holy Spirit. It will be remembered that the members of the Albigensian Church claimed to receive daily visitations from their Great Invisible Chief, the Holy Spirit. In Figs. 60 and 61 we saw this idea illustrated by the descent of the Dove with outstretched wings upon the human heart. The double SS when employed as handles to the sacramental vessels of the Church, and to be seen so frequently in these Grail paper-marks, denoted the presence of the *Sanctus Spiritus*, or Pure Wisdom.

Passing from the Legends of the Grail to the famous *Romaunt of the Rose*, we again find ourselves face to face with an heretical allegory. Aroux states that not only was this work, which had an immense vogue, a scarcely veiled satire against the Court of Rome, but it was the very apotheosis of the sectarian philosophy. The tale relates how a "Lover" arrives at a delicious garden enclosured by a lofty wall. Within this orchard of Love are rare and lovely plants, without are all the vices. In the centre of the mystic garden grew a Rose (see p. 133). The celestial music of the birds within this Paradise can only be likened to a siren's song. As Chaucer puts it:—

> "It semede a place espirituel.
> For never yitt sich melodye
> Was herd of man."

The music was:—

> ". . . wonder lyk to be
> Song of mermaydens of the see

That for her syngyng is so clere.
Though we mermaydens clepe hem here
In English as in oure usaunce
Men clepe hem sereyns in Fraunce."

In Figs. 215 and 216 we see a symbol of this heavenly music. Observe the significant Cross and the Rose. It is stated in Mackenzie's *Royal Masonic Cyclopædia* that the Rose was "a symbol of immortality. The rose was

Fig. 215.—1433.

Fig. 216.—1489.

afterwards applied to signify Christ, and a rose resting on a cross typified the Soter on the cross or the secret of immortality." There is a silver Rose in the Paradise figured by the Brahmans. In the centre of the silver Rose the Deity is said to have had His permanent residence. Similarly Dante figures the supreme central Heaven as an effulgent Rose and Flower of Light, "brighter than a million suns, immaculate, inaccessible, vast, fiery with magnificence and surrounding God as if with a million veils."

As translated by Cary, Dante's words are:—

"How wide the leaves,
Extended to their utmost, of this rose,
Whose lowest step embosoms such a space
Of ample radiance! Yet, nor amplitude
Nor height impeded, but my view with ease

Took in the full dimensions of that joy.
Near or remote, what there avails, where God
Immediate rules, and Nature, awed, suspends
Her sway? Into the yellow of the rose
Perennial, which, in bright expansiveness,
Lays forth its gradual blooming, redolent
Of praises to the never-wintering sun,
As one, who fain would speak yet holds his peace,
Beatrice led me; and, "Behold," she said,
This fair assemblage; stoles of snowy white,
How numberless. The city, where we dwell,
Behold how vast; and these our seats so throng'd,
Few now are wanting here.

. . . . . .

In fashion, as a snow white rose, lay then
Before my view the saintly multitude."

In Figs. 224 and 225 it will be observed that in the centre of the Rose perennial are emblems of the Divine.

Fig. 217.
17th century.

Fig. 218.
17th century.

Fig. 219.
17th century.

Fig. 220.
17th century.

Fig. 221.
17th century.

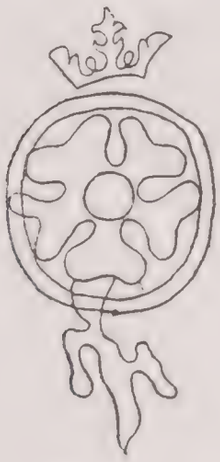


Fig. 222.
1555.

Fig. 223.
17th century.

Fig. 224.—14th century.

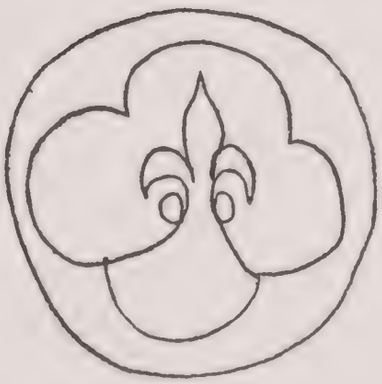


Fig. 225.—1387.

Fig. 226.—1436.

CHAPTER VI

"THE PHILOSOPHER'S GOLD"

NOT only were the Albigenses exponents of pure Christianity, but they were devoted apostles of Education. They would have endorsed Meredith's dictum that Culture is half-way to Heaven. Among their earliest documents (*circa* 1100) are an anthology of philosophic sentences entitled *Li Parlar de li Philosophes et Doctoro*, and a catechism of instruction for children. They maintained night schools where in secrecy was taught the art of reading. Berard comments upon what he terms a fact unique in the history of the Middle Ages, namely that every Vaudois possessed a rudimentary education. The entire New and many portions of the Old Testament were committed to memory. The first printed French Bible was that issued by the Vaudois in 1532(?), and it was they who first translated from Latin into the vernacular the *Lives of the Saints*. In their combat against clerical ignorance and intolerance, and as producers and exponents of *belles lettres*, the Troubadours were among the earliest assertors of Intellect. Provence was, in effect, the cradle of the Renaissance, a land of intellectual light whose rays spread over the whole of Europe. "If these heretics," laments Berard, "had only been able to continue their active propaganda; if they had not fallen in shoals under the executioner's axe, what an incalculable gain to civilisation!" But though crushed and scattered, the

civilisation of Provence continued to exist for subsequent centuries, stealthily yet surely imposing its manners on its neighbours.

Fig. 227 represents what is commonly known as a Catherine Wheel, by the teeth of which St Catherine nearly suffered martyrdom (A.D. 309). The legend runs that fifty pagan philosophers were let loose upon this suffering virgin, with the intent to pervert her from Christianity. Her winning eloquence, however, was so effective that the philosophers themselves were the converts; whereupon, says the legend, St Catherine became "the patroness of philosophers and learned schools."

FIG. 227.
1428.

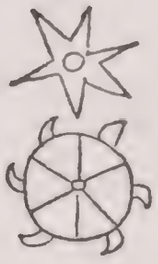


FIG. 228.
15th century.

FIG. 229.
16th century.

FIG. 230.
1521.

FIG. 231.
15th century.

FIG. 232.
1484.

The emblems on p. 61 prove that papermakers were lovers of the Virgin SOPHIA, and these wheel emblems of St Catherine identify their designers as philosophers and "a learned school."

In Fig. 230 the acorns represent slow growing strength. The Star flower presumably symbolised that blossoming fertility which was associated with the Sangraal.

The mediæval mystics regarded as inseparable *la bonté et la sagesse*: they drew no line between Science and Religion, and in Fig. 229 we have a symbol of this combination of goodness and wisdom. The conjunction of goodness and beauty was symbolised by a jewelled ring, as shown in Figs. 233 and 234. Green reproduces this

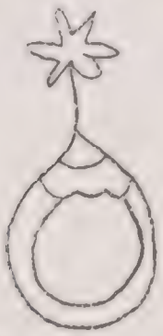


FIG. 233.—1479.

FIG. 234.—1447.

FIG. 235.—15th century.

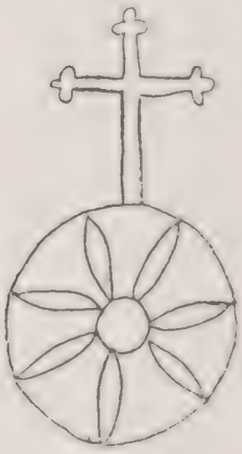


FIG. 236.

ring emblem from Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie* (1540) with the motto, "Beauty the companion of goodness." He thus translates the verse which accompanies it:—

"As for the precious stone,
The ring of gold is coined,
So beauty in its grace
Should be to goodness joined."

By the Old Masters, St. Catherine is oftentimes depicted with a wheel in the second form of Fig. 235. This particular mark is of singular interest, being that used by the first recorded English papermaker, John Tate of Hertford. Many Albigenses found an asylum in this country, and with them they evidently brought—as did their Huguenot successors of a later century—the knowledge and practice of papermaking. English History knew them under the name of Lollards, to whose scholarly and prolific leader, John Wycliffe, we are indebted for the first English translation of the Bible.

As we have seen, many of the Albigensian thinkers veiled their philosophic notions in the garments of allegory and romance. Just as they spiritualised chivalry, so they infused their mystic teaching into that other great feature of mediæval Europe, Alchemy. There were, of course, great chemists in the Middle Ages, but the majority of printed treatises on Alchemy are palpably religious essays in disguise. Title-pages such as *The New Pearl of Great Price*, *A Brief Guide to the Celestial Ruby*, *An Easy Introduction to the Philosopher's Gold*, and so forth, are alone sufficient to arouse this suspicion; but the matter is placed beyond doubt by the assertions of the Alchemists themselves. The allegorical character of Alchemy is reiterated with pathetic insistence. "Do not blindly believe these and similar assertions of Basilius," his annotator warns us, "but keep your eyes wide open." "Whatever we read," says Cornelius Agrippa, "about the irresistible powers of the Magic Art, or the wonderful sights of the astrologers, will be found to be fables and lies as soon as we take those things in their external and literal meaning. Their external forms cover internal truths, and he who

desires to see those truths must be in possession of the Divine light of Reason, which is in possession of very few."

"Let me entreat you," says Combachius in his *Epistle to the Reader*, "to take notice that when you find any mention made of *heaven*, *earth*, *soul*, *spirits*, or *our heaven*, etc., these are not meant the *celestial heaven* or *natural earth*, but terms used by the philosophers to obscure their sayings from the wicked."

"I would have the courteous reader be here admonished," says Sendivogius, "that he understand my writings, not so much from the outside of my words as from the possibility of nature; lest afterwards he bewail his time, pains, and cost all spent in vain."

"The philosophers," one writer tells us, "ever discourse in parables and figures." "Let the studious reader," says another, "have a care of the manifold significance of words, for by deceitful windings and doubtful, yea, contrary speeches (as it would seem), philosophers unfold their mysteries with a desire of concealing and hiding the truth from the unworthy."

Yet notwithstanding these emphatic warnings, the Alchemists have been dismissed by History as charlatans and impostors, as either dupes or knaves, and they stand condemned for the "mystical trash" that they are alleged to have let loose upon Europe. Hallam is conspicuous in his denunciation of "that unworthy innovator" Paracelsus. He tells us that Agrippa had drunk deep at "the turbid streams of Cabalistic philosophy," that his system was the "mere creed of magical imposture," and that in general influence the Alchemistical theories were more pernicious than the technical pedantry of the Schools.

It must be admitted that the mannerisms of Alchemy

are exasperating to a degree. We are informed by one writer that the Sages "set pen to paper for the express purpose of *concealing* their meaning. The sense of a whole passage is often hopelessly obscured by the addition or omission of one little word; for instance, the addition of the word 'not' in the wrong place." Another author unblushingly observes that "the Sages are in the habit of using words which may convey either a true or a false impression; the former to their own disciples and children; the latter to the ignorant, the foolish, and the unworthy."

In their endeavour to prevent their works being thumbed by the inimical or the illiterate, mediæval philosophers took extraordinary precautions. "The cause of this concealment among all wise men," says Roger Bacon, "is the contempt and neglect of the secrets of wisdom by the vulgar sort, who know not how to use those things that are most excellent. Or if they do conceive any worthy thing, it is altogether by chance and fortune, and they do exceedingly abuse that their knowledge to the great damage and hurt of many men, yea, even of whole societies; so that he is worse than mad that publisheth any secret, unless he conceal it from the multitude, and in such wise deliver it that even the studious and learned shall hardly understand it."

Happily the Sages are not always in this pessimistic and unpromising mood. At times they are comparatively jocund, and jibe gently at us for our peevishness and want of patience. "Our books," confesses one of the writers, "are full of obscurity: philosophers write horrid metaphors and riddles to those who are not upon a sure foundation, which, like to a running stream, will

carry them down headlong into error and despair, from which they can never escape till they so far understand our writings as to discern the subject matter of our secrets, which being known, the rest is not so hard."

The professed object of Alchemy was the quest of an undefined and undefinable Something wherein was supposed to be contained all the powers and potencies of Life, and whatever makes Life worth living. The names given to this mysterious Something were as many and various as the properties it was alleged to possess. We find it described as the Elixir of Life, the Water of Life, the Universal Medicine, the Philosopher's Stone, the Stone of Wisdom, the Essence, the One Thing, the Heavenly Balm, the Divine Water, the Virgin Water, the Carbuncle of the Sun, the Phœnix, and many other names.

Just as purity of thought and living were the first essentials to the quest of the St. Grail, so do we find purity and prayer set down as a *sine qua non* for Alchemical aspirants. "First," as says Basil Valentine, "there should be the vocation of God flowing from the depth of a pure and sincere heart, and a conscience which should be free from all ambition, hypocrisy and vice; that, when a man appears before the Throne of Grace, to regain the health of his body, he may come with a conscience weeded of all tares, and be changed into *a pure temple of God cleansed of all that defiles.*" The words italicised were expressed as we have endeavoured to show by the symbol of the St. Grail, and it is significant to find that in the version of Wolfram von Eschenbach the St. Grail is represented not as a vessel but *a Stone.*

It is not unreasonable to conclude, therefore, that the Quest of the St. Grail and the Quest of the Philosopher's

Stone were interchangeable terms expressing identically the same intellectual ideas.

Conversely we find the Alchemists referring to "our true secret vessel and the Garden of the Sages." "The philosophers," says Flammel, "have a garden where the sun as well morning as evening remains with a most sweet dew without ceasing, with which it is moistened; whose earth brings forth trees and fruits which are transplanted thither, which also receive nourishment from the pleasant meadows. And this is done daily: and there they are corroborated and quickened without ever fading."

Here the allegory *saute aux yeux*, and it is clear that the Garden of the Sages, and the Orchard of the Rose, are synonymous terms. According to the author of *Alchemy and the Alchemists*, the Rose was the symbol of the philosophic gold, and it is sufficiently obvious that the *real* aim of Alchemy was the transmutation, not of lead into gold, but of the baser metals of Man's soul into the Gold of Virtue. The Alchemists themselves assert this as plainly as they dared. "Our Art," says one, "only arrogates to itself the power of developing through the removal of all defects and superfluities, the golden nature which the baser metals possess." Again, another affirms, "the elements are to be so conjoined that the nobler and fuller life may be produced." The means by which this Magnum Opus is to be accomplished are thus expressed by Paracelsus, "To grasp the invisible elements, to attract them by their material correspondences, to control, purify, and transform them *by the living power of the Spirit*—this is true Alchemy."

As Mr Pattison Muir correctly says, "These sayings read like sentences in a forgotten tongue. We are

in a different world. There is nothing even remotely resembling what one finds in a modern book on chemistry." The humour of the situation lies in our British method of employing a Professor of modern Chemistry to edit treatises which belong to an entirely different category—to the world of Mysticism. The forgotten tongue in which these treatises are written, is a lost language of Symbolism, an Art forced into use by the persecution to which all free thought was then exposed. This language was called by the Alchemists their *Lingua magica*, *Lingua Angelorum*, and sometimes *Lingua ipsius Ternarii Sancti*. "This tongue," writes the author of *An Easy Introduction to the Philosopher's Gold*, "is not only absolutely necessary and wisely fitted to veil Nature's secrets from the unworthy and prophane, but is also bravely proportioned to the intellectual imaginations of man." It was evolved from the belief that the material universe is nothing but a manifestation of a spiritual counterpart whence it derives its existence. "The sages," says Michael Sendivogius, "have been taught by God that this natural world is only an image and material copy of the heavenly and spiritual pattern; that the very existence of this world is based upon the reality of its heavenly archetype."

The symbolic language employed by papermakers was a consistent code based, as has been seen, upon the characteristics of the objects employed. This same simple and coherent system was, as we shall show, also utilised by printers; but the symbols employed by the Alchemists seem unhappily to have been selected by the arbitrary choice of each writer who left readers to puzzle out the meaning as best they could. The difficulty of unravelling an Alchemist's true purport is therefore immensely increased. The

mysterious "agent" by which the gold of the Philosophers was to be produced, has as many names as the Stone itself; and it is hardly a subject for surprise that the Grand Arcanum of the Sages was by many of their contemporaries ridiculed as an elaborate hoax. Frequently we are told that the Agent was Mercury—but not the ordinary Mercury. "Supplement your common Mercury with the inward fire which it needs, and you will soon get rid of all superfluous dross." Speaking generally, it will be found that by whatever term the Agent is named, it is merely a synonym for that elusive and indefinable faculty in the mind called "Conscience." Sometimes the Agent is Love. "Love is of a transmuting and transforming nature. The great effect of Love is to turn all things into its own nature, which is all goodness, sweetness and perfection. Where it meets with a barren and heathy desert, it transmutes it into a Paradise of Delight; yea, it changeth evil into good, and all imperfection into perfection. It is the Divine Stone, the White Stone with the name written on it which no one knows but he who hath it. In a word it is the Divine Nature, it is God Himself, whose essential property it is to assimilate all things with Himself, by means of this Divine Elixir whose transforming power and efficacy nothing can withstand." We are told that it is quite possible for poor men to manufacture the Philosopher's Stone, and that he who has once obtained the right Augmentum, has met with the infallible Verity, the incorruptible Tincture, "yea, with an infinite Treasure, and needs the help of no other Instructor." The Alchemists distinguish significantly between common Gold and "Our Gold," between Mercury and the "Mercury of the Philosophers," Sulphur and the "heavenly Sulphur of

him whose eyes are opened." Frequently the expressions are so plain as to compel the commonest dullard to divine their meaning. "Oh foolishness! Oh blindness of mind!" ejaculates one writer, "can *common* salt be the Soap of the Philosopher? Can *common* Saturn ever become *our* ponderous Ruby Star, *our* Red Fixed Eagle, *our* Red Fixed Sulphur of Sol, or *our* Fixed Salamander ever living in the Fire?"

Again, says Basil Valentine, "Alas, if men only had eyes to see and ears to hear, not merely what I say, but to understand the secret meaning, they would no longer drink those turbid and unwholesome potions, but would hasten hither and receive the limpid water of the well of life. It is my design to show that those great doctors who think themselves wise, are very fools, while my book may make many foolish and unlearned persons the depositaries of true wisdom. All men, who are real lovers of knowledge and humbly seek after it by day and by night, are herewith cordially invited to listen to my teaching, to pore over my book with the greatest care, and thereby obtain the desire of their hearts. Their gratitude will, after my death, raise me from the grave and render my name immortal."

The Editor of the Latin edition of Valentine's *Triumphal Chariot of Antimony*, published at Amsterdam in 1685, observes that "At the time when Basilius wrote, the ignorance of certain physicians [of the soul, *i.e.* the clergy?] was so great that they administered as medicines many poisons [mental?] in their raw and unpurified state, and ignorantly proscribed the means by which the Alchemists rendered them truly salutary to the human system. Against these pseudo doctors [of Divinity?]

honest Basilius and his friends were wont to inveigh with the greatest sharpness [preached acutely?]. But in this imperfect world truth is not necessarily victorious, and though the Alchemists had the better cause, their opponents had the advantage of numbers." Just as the *Perfecti* were hounded from town to town, so the Alchemists were chivied relentlessly over the face of Europe. Allusions to their brutal and sanguinary surroundings are of constant occurrence. "I dare affirm," says one, "that I do possess more riches than the whole known world is worth, but cannot make use thereof because of the snares of knaves." Clearly he is referring to the Treasure of Heaven, for he continues, "I disdain, I loathe, this idolising of gold and silver by the price and vanity whereof the pomp and vanities of the world are celebrated. Ah, filthy evil! ah, vain nothingness! Believe ye that I conceal these things out of envy? No, surely, for I protest to thee that I grieve from the very bottom of my soul that we are driven, as it were, like outcasts from the face of the Lord throughout the earth. We travel through many nations just like vagabonds, and dare not take upon ourselves the care of a family, neither do we possess any fixed habitation. And although we possess all things, yet can we use but a few. What, therefore, are we happy in, excepting speculation and meditation only. Many do believe (that are strangers to the art) that if they should enjoy it they would do such and such things; so also even we did formerly believe, but being grown more wary by the hazard we have run, *we have chosen a more secret method.* For whosoever hath once escaped imminent peril of his life, he will, believe me, become more wise for the time to come."

Although the preceding extracts make it evident that many religious men employed the terminology of Alchemy in a transfigured and spiritual sense, it is equally certain that many Alchemists pursued chemical experiment for its own sake, and some seem to have acquired extraordinary powers. "I am of opinion from the evidence in hand," affirms the scholarly and judicious A. E. Waite, "that metallic transmutations *did* occur in the past." This is, however, a branch of the subject into which it is unnecessary to digress. The ethical Alchemists deprecate "that ungodly and accursed goldmaking which hath gotten so much the upper hand." "The Alchemists," says van Suchten, "I understand not here," he flings off with a fine scorn, "*those sots* who promise riches to others yet are themselves beggars." Again, speaking of false Alchemists and their fruitless toil, he says: "I answer that this noble art requires a sound man; all these have been sick. They have had the gold sickness *which hath darkened their senses*, so that they could not understand the terms which the wise men use in the description of the Art; seeking only with hot desire that which they shall never find. But what is to be found, that they seek not; therefore they work in vain. Who is to be blamed, the Art or the artist, that they understand nothing? Alchemy is a pure and uncorrupted Virgin [see Figs. 145 and 146]; she casts off the sensual man, and will have an intellectual one; of whom at present I see but few."

I have allowed these Alchemistical philosophers to state their case as far as possible in their own language. To have paraphrased it would not only have impaired its charm, but have weakened its power to convince. The Muse of History has, I am persuaded, judged them superficially and

with egregious unfairness. "Instead of useful work," says a leading Encyclopædia, "they compiled mystical trash into books, and fathered them on Hermes, Aristotle, Albertus Magnus, Paracelsus, and other really great men. Their language is a farrago of mystical metaphors. Those who had attained full insight into the arcana of the science were called Wise; those who were only striving after the light were Philosophers; while the ordinary practisers of the art were called Adepts. . . . It is from this degenerate and effete school that the prevailing notion of Alchemy is derived —a notion which is unjust to the really meritorious Alchemists who paved the way for genuine chemistry." Whether or no these sentiments represent the final verdict of History remains to be seen. For my part, I prefer to accept these old philosophers at their own estimation of each other, which is expressed in the following dedication from *The Triumphal Chariot of Alchemy*:—

TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS
VENERABLE, SAINTLY AND BLESSED
MEN
ADEPTS OF THE TRUE PHILOSOPHY
LOVERS OF VIRTUE
LORDS OF FORTUNE
DESPISERS OF THE WORLD
WHOSE LIFE IS HOLINESS IN HOLINESS
KNOWLEDGE IN KNOWLEDGE
AND WHOSE WORK CONSISTS IN THE
RELIEVING OF THE SICK
AND POOR

CHAPTER VII

THE KABBALAH

THE most remarkable of the many philosophers who adopted the terminology of Alchemy, was perhaps that marvellous shoemaker, Jacob Böhme, or as sometimes spelt Behmen. In his *Lives of the Alchemistical Philosophers*, Mr A. E. Waite writes: "The publication of the writings of Jacob Böhme caused the Alchemists who were his contemporaries to fear that their art could not much longer remain a secret, and that the mystic vase in particular would be shortly revealed to all. This vase was the *VAS INSIGNE ELECTIONIS*, namely MAN, who is the only all-containing subject, and who alone has need to be investigated for the eventual discovery of all."

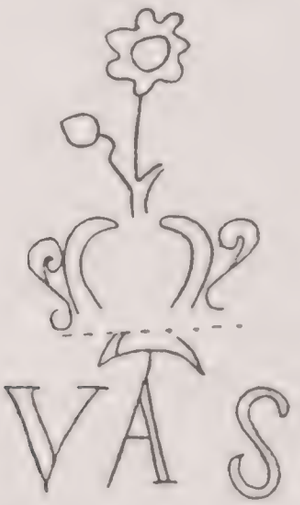


FIG. 237.—18th century.

In Fig. 237 we have the *VAS PHILOSOPHORUM*, with the word VAS beneath.

The lettering which occurs so generally on watermarks forms a highly interesting branch of the study. It is a comparatively easy matter to distinguish between the names or initials of the manufacturers and those supplementary inscriptions which in many cases form an essential portion of the emblem. For instance, in the facsimile on p. 35, which represents a complete sheet of paper, "FRANCESCO POLLERI," is manifestly the name of the maker, the word "LIBERTAS" (a daring watchword for those days), and the letters "S A D P," presumably bearing some additional signification. Again in Fig. 82 the letters "I S" may reasonably be assumed to stand for J(ESUS) S(ALVATOR), the two letters underneath the design denoting the manufacturer. To distinguish correctly between these two classes of lettering requires a certain amount of care. A great variety of manufacturer's initials is to be expected, in any case among French marks, as by an Ordinance passed in 1582 every Master papermaker was compelled to identify his own products by watermarking into each sheet either his full name or the initials of his christian and surname. It appears to have been customary for a great number of small papermills to cluster together in the same neighbourhood, presumably where good water existed. In many cases these little mills seem to have possessed but one vat, and to have been run by only three or four individuals, sometimes not more than the members of one family. Their output was apparently collected by factors, who rarely troubled to keep separate the different makings; hence it is a common occurrence to meet with thirty or forty different papermarks in a single volume. The St. Grail was a favourite device among the papermakers of Auvergne. In the year 1567 there existed in this district twenty-seven

papermills. In 1577 no less than fifty small mills were destroyed, as they formed a hindrance to military operations. In 1717, within the same area, fifty-seven mills were recorded as working, forty-two as disused and empty, and twenty as being in ruins.

It is probable, therefore, that many of the initials on St. Grail papermarks represent merely the christian and surnames of the makers; but not necessarily so in all cases. In Fig. 172, for example, the lettering is obviously the sacred monogram, and beneath Figs. 208 and 209 we have the phrase "May God protect it."

As has already been noted, the religious and intellectual freedom of Provence attracted thither large numbers of persecuted Jews. One of the reasons for the nefarious Albigensian crusade was that the district harboured "Jews, Mohammedans, Infidels and Heretics." There is little reason to doubt that the fires of persecution fused Jew and Heretic into a fellowship of sympathy and philosophy.

Now the more spiritually-minded among the Jews cherished a secret system of Theology and Metaphysics, which was known as the Kabbalah, Qabalah, or Cabala, words derived from the root QBL, meaning "to receive." Just as the Albigensian creed was a revolt against the formalism and materialism of Roman Catholicism, so the Jewish Kabbalah sprang from weariness of the dead letter, and represented a reaction against the petrified Judaism of the Rabbis. It became, we are told, "a means of handing down from one generation to another hidden truths, religious notions, secrets of nature, ideas of cosmogony and facts of History in a form which was unintelligible to the uninitiated; and the revealing of the secrets and the methods of inter-

pretation were veiled in mystery and only to be approached through Religion."

The resemblance between certain features of the Kabbalah and the Christian Trinity induced some Jews to turn Christians, and made many speculative Christians favourably inclined towards the Kabbalah. The great Reuchlin is a conspicuous example of the many keen minds, such as Picus of Mirandola, "justly called the Phœnix of his age," which became converts to cabbalistic teaching. From whatever point it may be viewed, the Kabbalah is seen to be of profound importance. It is a link with literatures which are greater than itself, and entered, especially during the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, very deeply into the thought of Europe. According to Mr Waite, it was responsible for much of the strange tissue of symbolism and ceremonial that made up the Magic of the Middle Ages, and at a later period "it sought to transform Alchemy."

The points of contact between the Kabbalah and the Albigensian Church of the Holy Spirit are therefore so numerous that the two systems may be said at times to merge completely into one another.

Among the arts of the Kabbalah was one known as *notaricon*. This consisted of constructing phrases, each letter of which formed the initial letter of a word. For instance, the name HIRAM was read by the mystics as meaning H(OMO) J(ESUS) R(EDEMPTOR) A(NI) M(ARUM): others applied the meaning H(OMO) J(ESUS) A(LTISSIMUS) M(UNDI): others again added a C to the Hiram in order to make it CH(RISTUS) J(ESUS), etc. Our everyday word AMEN is a survival of a Kabbalistic phrase, and in modern Freemasonary are to be found further survivals. I am told that the sacred TAU is read by Masons to mean T(HE)

A(UTHOR) (OF THE) U(NIVERSE). Dr Oliver mentions the letters STOTA as signifying S(upremo) T(otius) O(rbis) T(errarum) A(rchitecto). Another term employed to denote the Deity is TGAOTU, which is resolvable into the simple phrase T(HE) G(REAT) A(UTHOR) O(F) T(HE) U(NIVERSE).

Dante made frequent use of this Kabbalistic system of *notaricon*, concealing beneath outwardly simple words meanings which were perfectly well understood by his fellow conspirators. "How ingenious," exclaims Gabriele Rossetti, "were the mystic writers with their double interpretations! Who would ever guess that those two words THA7U and BICE contain a sense so dangerous? In every sectarian work we find examples of combined letters such as THA7U and BICE the initials of so many words which convey important meanings. The sacred word SHI is divided into its elements and becomes three. The initial letters are the Sacred Word. Dante made use of such initials not only in his BICE and his EL, but we will here bring forward some which he wrote in common with coeval authors belonging to the secret school." Rossetti then cites the combinations TAL and ALTRI.

It is obvious that many papermarked inscriptions are kindred concoctions conveying similarly occult meanings.

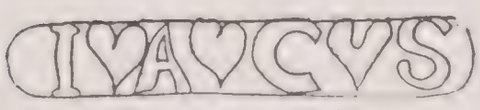


FIG. 237A.—1736.

FIG. 238.—1665.

Many of them consist simply of initials divided by hearts, such as Figs. 237A and 238. No papermakers ever bore such surnames as ICO, or HIPI, or PHO, or MIOVSPI. Com-

mencing from solitary initials we find phrases being gradually built up such as follows:—

P.	PHO.	PHOMO	
IC.	ICO.	ICONARD	
R.	RC.	RCONARD.	RCONCANSIN
IRO.	IROD.		
MIO.	MIOVSPI		
HIPI			
PEHIEH			

We see from the initial letter herewith that the twisted pillars were the emblem of Piety and Justice. It is therefore perhaps permissible to read the inscription PEHIEH as P(ietate) E(t) I(usticia) H(omo) E(st) H(ierosolymitanus).

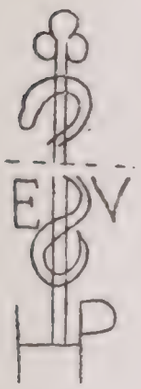


FIG. 239.
17th century.

FIG. 240.
16th century (?).

FIG. 241.—Initial.
Paris, 1671.

By Piety and Justice Man becomes an inhabitant of the New Jerusalem.[1] The transposition of the H and I is, I think, justifiable, for the reason that the practice of anagrammatising was one of the arts of the Kabbalah

[1] I was told by the late Dr Wm. Krisch that the letters H. P. might be read *Hierosolyma peto* = I seek the New Jerusalem. The word *Hierosolymitanus, i.e.* a hierosolymite, or inhabitant of the sacred Jerusalem, is used by St Augustine. See Murray's *New English Dictionary*.

FIG. 243.—1469.

FIG. 244.—1462.

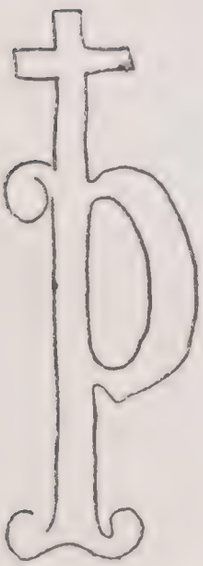


FIG. 245.—1395.

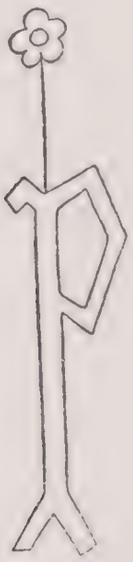


FIG. 246.—1440.

FIG 247.—1548.

FIG 248.—1411.

FIG. 249.—1526.

FIG. 250.—1587.

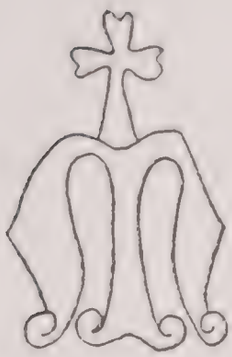


FIG. 251.—1403.

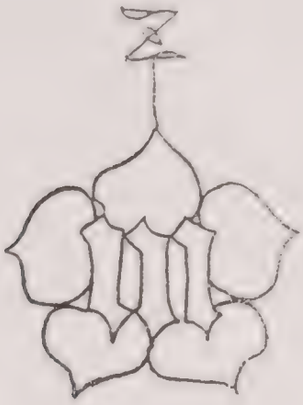


FIG. 255.—1472.

FIG. 252.—1385.

FIG. 253.—1578.

FIG. 254.—1546.

FIG. 257.—1406.

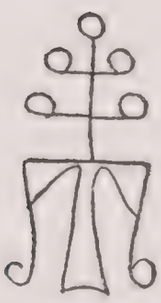


FIG. 258.—1408.

known under the term *Themura*. In Fig. 242 we have a rude but unmistakable figure of Justice holding her sword and balance. Piety and Justice were also among the meanings attributed to the Fleur-de-Lys. The Lily, according to Dr Mackey, "is the symbol of divinity, of purity, and abundance, and of a love most complete in perfection, charity, and benediction, . . . hence the Lily's three leaves in the arms of France meaneth PIETY, JUSTICE, and CHARITY."

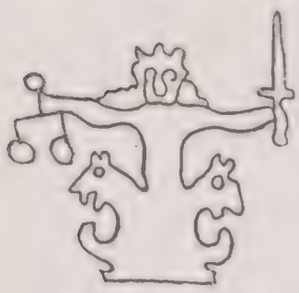


FIG. 242.—1575.

Important meanings were attached by the Kabbalah not only to numbers—such as the sacred "4"—but to the various letters of the alphabet singly and in combination.

The significance of the letter Y has already been noted. G was regarded as a synonym of the Hebrew *Yod*, and implied the Architect of the Universe. The letter P stood for *Phoded*, the Redeemer. D was the symbol of growth and expansion. But by far the most sacred of all letters was M, which was regarded as both feminine and masculine. It was made to symbolise water, the great Deep, and stands as a glyph for the waves, thus ∿∿. In Figs. 251 to 255 we have papermarks of this sacred M. In its ordinary aspect this was an emblem of the Virgin Mary, but the Virgin Mary undoubtedly symbolised *Mare*, the cleansing and ever pure Sea; whence arose the Catholic saying that the *Ave* of Mary reverses the curse of *Eva*. Observe how in Fig. 256 the designer has surrounded his two swords with the Mundane Egg, at the head of which is the Trinity. Observe the wavy line of the Spirit descending until it forms S S whence it arises. Lest we should misunderstand this wavy line, the artist has

tacked on an identifying M. In Figs. 257 and 258 the designer has ingeniously combined the M of Mare and the Tau of Salvation.

Beneath Fig. 259 herewith will be noticed a curious inscription, of which the final portion reads LE GARD. As

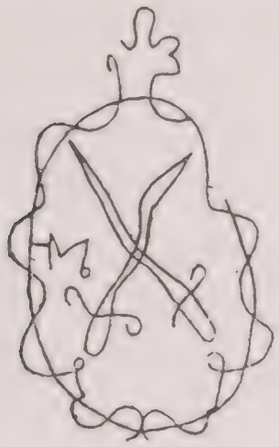


FIG. 256.—17th century.

FIG. 259.—1640.

we have met elsewhere with the phrase DIEU LE GARD, the thought at once arises that the Kabbalistic AAV is another mode of expressing DIEU. It is, I think, unquestionably a monogram of the letters A U M, the U being written as was then customary V, and the M being extended into the glyph ∧∧ = AV∧∧. The second A is probably to enable the mystic phrase to be read backwards and forwards. In *Faustus*, Marlowe refers to "Jehovah's Name, *forward and backward* anagrammatiz'd."

Now the three letters A U M denoting Creation, Conservation, and Transformation constituted a mystic word standing for the unutterable Name of the Creator. It is to be found in the doctrines and ceremonial of other nations, as well as among the Jews. It is said to have been used as a password in the Egyptian Mysteries. In

the Rites of Hindoostan it was bestowed upon the aspirant under the triliteral form $\begin{matrix} & A & \\ U & & M \end{matrix}$ at the completion of his initiation, and then only by whispering it in his ear.

The complicated mark under which the phrase Aumlegard occurs is generally to be found in sheets of paper watermarked with a St. Grail, and is apparently a symbolic representation of the method by which Man may become regenerate, and hence a Temple of the Holy Spirit. The two emblems are complementary to each other, and epitomise the Hermetic Art. The Alchemists held there was a duality in Man. "Our art," said they, "is to compound two principles." "If they are united," says Ripley in his *Compound of Alchemy*, "they will certainly operate one upon the other, and alter and change each other from thing to thing, and from state to state, until all come to one Nature and Substance Regenerate, which is a new Heavenly Body. . . . Thus they who sow in tears shall reap in joy, and he who goeth forth mourning and carrying precious seed shall return with an abundance of increase, with their hands filled with sheaves and their mouths with the praises of the Lord."

Under the veiling terms, "sun and moon," "active and passive," "agent and patient," and hundreds of other similar expressions, the mediæval philosophers indicated this twofold character, and remind us of the ancient saying that Man is a charioteer driving a light and a dark horse. Swedenborg expressed the same duality by the terms "Will" and "Understanding," by the reconcilement of which man becomes an angel. In Freemasonry the same idea seems to be conveyed by the two Pillars of the Porch, *i.e.* the twin natures that stand in the threshold of the

temple of man's soul. It was taught by a school of philosophers that the Mediator, the only means of AT-ONE-MENT between the dual and conflicting principles of man, was Christ—the personification of the SPIRIT OF TRUTH. Thus the anonymous editor of an edition of the works of Fénelon, issued in 1723, writes: "It is in this double purification

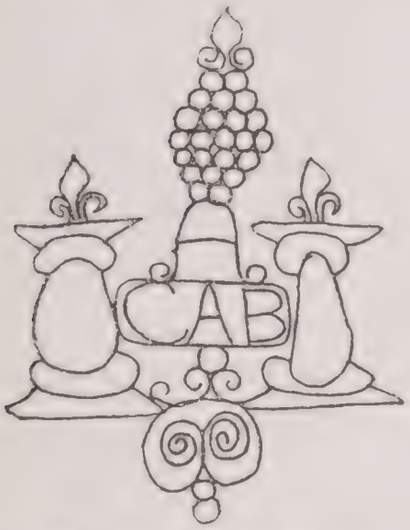


FIG. 260.—17th century.

FIG. 261.—1640.

FIG. 262.—1415.

FIG. 263.—1641.

FIG. 264.
17th century.

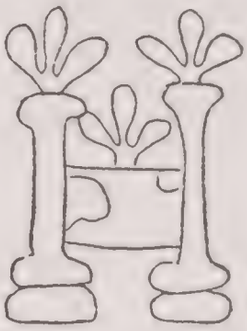


FIG. 265.
17th century.

of the understanding and of the will that the interior life consists, and it is God alone that can operate by His action, immediate and central. It is He alone as Light and Love that can dispel the darkness of our souls and fix the agitations of our hearts." The watermarks herewith are perfect emblems of this AT-ONE-MENT. The two pillars or principles, it will be observed, are in every case

connected to each other by symbols of the Divine, either the Grapes, *i.e.* the True Vine, the Trefoil of the Trinity, or by initials that denote the Deity. We are told that C typified "the Omnipotent and Eternal Author of the Universe, having neither beginning nor ending. It also calls to our remembrance the grand and awful Hereafter or Futurity, where we hope to enjoy endless bliss and everlasting life."

A and B formed the word AB, which signified God the Father; A and L formed the syllable AL, which signified

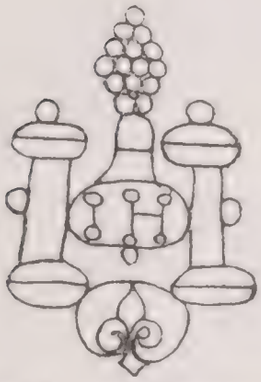


Fig. 266.—17th century.

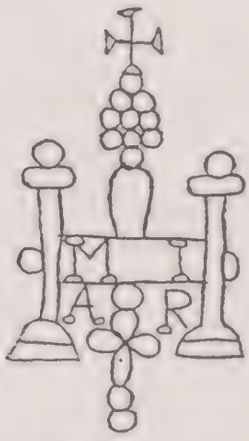


Fig. 267.—1641.

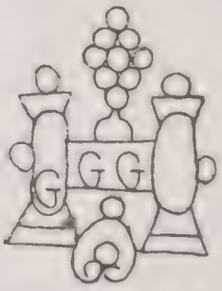


Fig. 268.—1636.

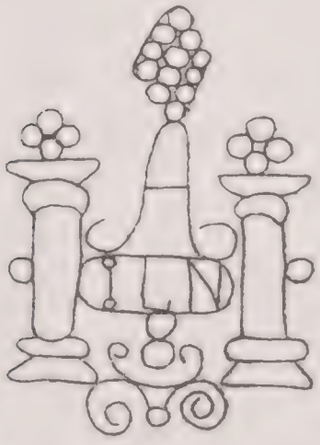


Fig. 269.—17th century.

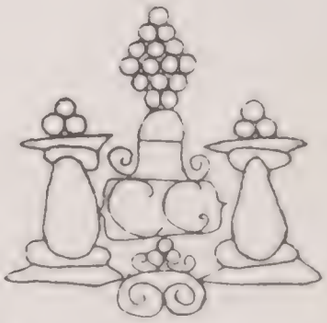


Fig. 270.—17th century.

The Word; LB meant Spirit, and BAL meant Lord. By various combinations of A, B, C, and L, the Kabbalists formed sentences reading Father-Lord, Word-Lord, Spirit-

Lord, and so forth. "By *three*," says the author of *Alchemy and the Alchemists*, "they add to the two principles a third as the *tie* of the two, which is really the *one*, which, with the two, makes their trinity of principles, 3 in 1."

The letter R in Fig. 262 may, I think, safely be read as R(edemptor). The large A's supporting the grapes in Figs. 260, 269 and 270 are probably Alphas. Whether the curly bases to these emblems are intended to represent Omegas is not so apparent.

It should be borne in mind that emblems were always intended as Thought *stimulators*. Each designer took a delight in expressing his own ideas, either by modifying or elaborating the designs of his co-workers. Quarles' definition of an emblem as a silent parable may be accepted as excellent, but it follows that each parable — some of them are compact essays in Philosophy—requires close study and most guarded interpretation. Doubtless these emblems of the AT-ONE-MENT contain deeper meanings than any I have been able to suggest, but I think the following verses, written sometime prior to 1677, practically sum up their teaching.

A STRING OF PEARLS

God's spirit falls on me like dewdrops on a rose,
If I but like a rose my heart to Him unclose;
The soul wherein God dwells—what church can holier be?
Becomes a walking tent of heavenly majesty.

Lo! in the silent night a child to God is born,
And all is brought again that ere was lost or lorn;
Could but thy soul, O man, become a silent night,
God would once more be born in thee and set all things right.

Ye know GOD but as Lord, hence Lord His name with ye;
I feel Him but as LOVE, hence Love His name with me!
How far from here to heaven? Not very far, my friend;
A single hearty step will all thy journey end.

Though Christ a thousand times in Bethlehem be born,
If He's not born in thee, thy soul is all forlorn;
The Cross on Golgotha will never save thy soul;
The Cross in thine own heart alone can make thee whole.

Christ rose not from the dead, Christ is still in the grave,
If thou for whom He died art still of sin the slave.
Hold there! Where runnest thou? Know Heaven is in thee;
Seekest thou for God elsewhere, His face thou'lt never see.

In all eternity no love can be so sweet
As where man's heart with God in unison doth beat.
Whate'er thou lovest, man, that, too, become thou must;
Good if thou lovest good—dust if thou lovest dust.

Ah! would the heart be but a manger for the birth,
God would once more become a little child on earth!
Immeasurable is the Highest; who but knows it?
And yet a human heart can perfectly enclose it!

CHAPTER VIII

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

IT is remarkable that the early History of Printing is wrapped in an obscurity almost as profound as that enveloping Papermaking. Four centuries of keen research have not enabled Historians to determine with any certainty either the date of its invention, the country where it was first practised, or the name of the first printer. That printing—the most epoch-making of all the industrial Arts—should have been thus suddenly and mysteriously sprung upon Europe without a hint as to its origin, is evidence that the inventor or introducer was sufficiently self-sacrificing to put forward no claim for recognition—a claim which by means of his own new born art he might so easily have maintained.

In my remaining chapters, I design to show that certainly many of the mediæval printers were Albigensian in their principles, and that in all probability the obscurity that surrounds them is due to the reticence and self-sacrifice inculcated by their philosophy. Like Fénelon they seem to have adopted the maxim "Love to be unknown," and like Sir Thomas Browne they made a total adieu to the world, not caring for a monument, history, or epitaph, not so much as the memory of their names to be found anywhere but in the universal Register of God.

Ye know GOD but as Lord, hence Lord His name with ye;
I feel Him but as LOVE, hence Love His name with me!
How far from here to heaven? Not very far, my friend;
A single hearty step will all thy journey end.

Though Christ a thousand times in Bethlehem be born,
If He's not born in thee, thy soul is all forlorn;
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It will be borne in mind that Papermaking is nearly 200 years older than Printing, and that it was almost entirely in the hands of the industrious Albigenses seems to be clearly indicated. As makers of paper the Albigenses must necessarily have come into close relations with the men who used and bought paper from them, and there is therefore nothing surprising or irrational in the suggestion that printers were deeply tinctured with Albigensian ideas.

When the Labour-loving and Light-loving heretics were exiled by successive persecutions, many of them undoubtedly followed the pre-typographic art of scrivenery. Richard de Bury in his *Philobiblon* mentions that "there was always about us in our halls no small assemblage of antiquaries, scribes, book-binders, correctors, illuminators, and generally of all such persons as were qualified to labour in the service of books." In 1403 there was already formed in London a Society or Brotherhood of the Craft of Writers of Text Letter and "those commonly called Limners," or Illuminators. Unfortunately my opportunities of examining illuminated MSS. have not been favourable, but even the few specimens that have come under my notice reveal many indications of their workmanship in the form of Albigensian emblems woven into the initials and borders.

The intermediate stage between engrossing and modern printing is represented by the so-called Block-books, that is to say, books printed not from movable types, but from engraved blocks of wood or metal. It is a significant fact that the earliest of all the Block Books was the *Biblia Pauperum* or Bible of the Poor, so called because it was designed for the edification of those who could not afford the exorbitant prices required for ordinary

manuscript copies. It is not known who was responsible for the inception of this work, which was reissued later from Bamberg, Paris and Vienna. Again the unknown benefactor was superior to praise or fame.

The earliest reference to printing from movable types occurs in a fifteenth-century document discovered at Avignon. Therein it appears that a silversmith of Prague was experimenting in printing at Avignon in 1444, and had undertaken to cut a set of Hebrew types for a Jew whom he had previously instructed in the art of printing. No specimens of his work are known, but the reference is important in that it associates *Hebrew* with printing.

At this period Hebrew was a dangerous thing to handle. When Reuchlin (1455-1522) in his earlier days lectured upon it, he had to do so in secrecy for fear of the monks. The Jews, evermore an accursed race, had crucified Jesus Christ: what could be plainer than that anyone who dabbled in their language was an outcast and a heretic? When Reuchlin pointed out errors in the Vulgate, derived from mistranslations of the original, and was rebuked for so doing, he answered in the spirit of Dante and Galileo, "I revere St Jerome as an Angel; I respect De Lyra as a Master; but I adore TRUTH as a God."

The prominence and intellectuality of Reuchlin rendered him obnoxious to the Church. Moreover, he was a Kabbalist; and had taught a Canon of Bamberg how to discover in a single verse of Exodus the seventy-two Kabbalistic names of God. If, as the monkish saying went, every good grammarian was a heretic, how much more a scholar who smutted himself with such unlawful learning?

So strong became the clerical feeling against Reuchlin that a contemptible trap was laid for his undoing. He was

required by the Archbishop of Mainz to express his opinion on the vital question whether all Hebrew Books, except the Old Testament, ought not forcibly to be taken from the Jews and burned?[1] Reuchlin's characteristic reply was "that the Jews' books should not be burned, but that with reasonable debate they should with God's help be gently and kindly brought over to our Faith."

New batteries of bigotry were unmasked by this reply. Behind the Archbishop were seen to be the Order of the Dominicans, and behind the Dominicans the Inquisition, with all of whom it became no longer a question of Hebrew literature, but of bringing Reuchlin to book for his damnable and pernicious heresies.

It is unnecessary to go into details of the prolonged struggle that ensued. For six years the controversy was waged with the extremest bitterness. On the side of Reuchlin rallied all the poets and scholars of the age, knowing his cause to be their own. They defended him in prose and verse, by serious argument and by scathing satire. "*Salve Reuchlinista*" became a common form of address in speech and writing, and says Dr Beard, "*The printers and booksellers were on the same side:* the complaint was made both then and later that the conservative party did not receive fair play from the new art of printing. It was a struggle to the death, the young men against the old, the classics against the schoolmen, scholarship against ignorance, light against darkness." In our own country a similar battle was being fought on a smaller scale. An Ecclesiastic, preaching at St Paul's Cross, is reported to have said: "We must root out printing, or printing will root out us." The mediæval censorship of the printing

[1] On two occasions in History the *Talmud* was thus confiscated and burned.

press arose from the jealousy of the clergy, who opposed the spread of education, partly because they saw that a little knowledge was a dangerous thing, but mainly because they feared their own prestige would suffer. This feeling existed before the invention of printing, the penalty in this country for reading scripture in the vernacular being forfeiture by the offenders and their heirs for ever of land, cattle, body, life and goods. They were further condemned as Heretics to God, enemies to the Crown, and most errant traitors to the land: they were refused right of sanctuary, and if they persisted in their offence or relapsed after a pardon, were first hanged for treason against the king, and then burned for Heresy towards God. Thus the clergy upheld and encouraged a censorship of the press.

The first production of Blockbook printing was, as has been mentioned, a poor man's Bible. The first known book[1] printed from movable types was the wonderful specimen of workmanship known as the "Mazarin" Bible (1455). "It is," says Hallam, "a very striking circumstance that the high-minded inventors of this great art [printing] tried at the very outset so bold a flight as the printing an entire Bible, and executed it with astonishing success. It was Minerva leaping on earth in her divine strength, and radiant armour, ready at the moment of her nativity to subdue and destroy her enemies." The first "prophane" author who was honoured by being put into type was William Durandus of Provence, from whose *Rationale* printed in 1459 I have so frequently quoted. Although good grammar was esteemed ecclesiastically as "Heresy," in 1460 the Latin Grammar and Dictionary entitled *Catholicon* was published at Maintz. The printer's "note" to this

[1] The first known specimen of type printing is a Papal Indulgence.

work ran significantly as follows, "By the assistance of the Most High, at Whose will the tongues of children become eloquent, and Who often reveals to babes what He hides from the wise, this renowned book, the *Catholicon*, was printed and perfected in the year of the Incarnation 1460, in the beloved city of Mentz (which belongs to the illustrious German nation, whom God has consented to prefer and to raise with such an exalted light of the mind and free grace, above the other nations of the earth), not by means of reed, stile, or pen, but by the admirable proportion, harmony, and connection of the punches and types."

Thus the art of printing was from its cradle not only the Handmaid of practical religion, symbolism, and the New Learning, but we find it peculiarly identified with Mysticism. Between the years 1474 and 1500 were issued no less than eighty editions of *The Imitation of Christ*, a work which according to Dean Milman gathers and concentres in its pages all that is elevating, passionate and profoundly pious in all the older mystics. Strangely enough the authorship of this enormously popular and comparatively modern work is so obscure that it is still the subject of controversy.

Thomas à Kempis (1379-1471), the author to whom it is popularly assigned, was one of a fraternity known as The Brethren of the Common Life, obviously an offshoot of Albigensianism. The Brethren took no irrevocable vows, but lived simply and earned their bread "by teaching children and by copying books."

"The first Brussels press," says Miss Rawlings, "was established by the Brethren of the Common Life, a community who had hitherto made a speciality of the production of manuscript books. At what date they began to print in Brussels is uncertain, but their first dated book, the *Gnoto-*

solitos sive speculum conscientiæ, is of the year 1476. The Brethren also had an earlier press at Marienthal, near Mentz, and subsequently set up others at Rostock, Nuremburg, and Gouda."

Their services to education are wholly beyond computation. Among their members is to be numbered not only Thomas à Kempis, but John Wessel (b. 1420), who wandered as scholar and teacher throughout Europe, and by his learning and character earned the title of "*Lux Mundi*." A pupil of à Kempis was Rudolf Agricola (d. 1485), "who deserves to be called the restorer of Greek learning in Germany." Another pupil was Dringenberg, who in 1450 founded a school which soon numbered 900 pupils, and "was the centre from which the new learning spread itself along the upper Rhine." Another formed a similar school at Munster, while yet another had the supreme glory of tutoring the youthful Erasmus.

Not only were the Albigenses known in German History as the "Brethren of the Common Life," but we meet with them under terms such as Hussites, Lollards, Brethren of the Free Spirit, *Homines Intelligentiæ*, Franciscans (founded by the ex-Troubadour, St Francis of Assisi), Friends of God; and Waldenses. So honeycombed was Europe by these Heretics that it was said a Waldensian travelling from Antwerp to Rome could sleep every night at the house of a fellow believer.

In his *Hours with the Mystics*, R. A. Vaughan gives some interesting pen pictures of German mysticism in the fourteenth century. From his imaginary chronicle of a Strasburg armourer, I extract the following:—

"It seems but yesterday that he and I were boys together, taking our reading and writing lessons from that

poor old Waldensian whom my father sheltered in our house. How we all loved him! I never saw my father so troubled at anything as at his death. Our house has been ever since a refuge for such persecuted wanderers.

"The wrath of Popes, prelates, and inquisitors hath been especially kindled of late years against sundry communities, sects, and residues of sects, which are known by the name of Beghards, Beguines, Lollards, Kathari, Fratricelli, Brethren of the Free Spirit, etc. Councils, they tell me, have been held at Cologne, Mayence, and Narbonne, to suppress the Beghards. Yet their numerous communities in the Netherlands and the Rhineland are a blessing to the poor folk, to whom the hierarchy are a curse. The clergy are jealous of them. They live single, they work with their hands, they nurse the sick, they lay out the dead, they lead a well-ordered and godly life in their Beguinasia, under the Magister or Magistra; but they are bound by no vows, fettered by no harassing minutiæ of austerity, and think the liberty of the Spirit better than monkish servitude. Some of them have fallen into the notions of those enthusiastic Franciscans who think the end of the world at hand, and that we live in, or near, the days of Antichrist. And no wonder, when the spiritual heads of Christendom are so unchristian. There are some sturdy beggars who wander about the country availing themselves of the name of Beghard to lead an idle life. These I excuse not. They say some of these Beghards claim the rank of apostles—that they have subterranean rooms, where both sexes meet to hear blasphemous preachers announce their equality with God. Yea, worse charges than these—even of grossest lewdness—do they bring. I know many of them, both here and at Cologne, but nothing of this sort have I seen,

or credibly heard of. They are the enemies of clerical pomp and usurpation, and some, I fear, hold strange fantastical notions, coming I know not whence. But the churchmen themselves are at fault, and answerable for it all. They leave the artisans and labourers in besotted ignorance, and when they do get a solitary religious idea that comes home to them, ten to one but it presently confounds or overthrows what little sense they have. Many deeply religious minds among us, both of laity and clergy, are at heart as indignant at the crimes of the hierarchy as can be the wildest mob-leading fanatic who here and there appears for a moment, haranguing the populace, denouncing the denouncers, and bidding men fight sin with sin. We who sigh for reform, who must have more spiritual freedom, have our secret communications, our meetings now and then for counsel, our signs and counter-signs. Folks call the Rhineland the Parsons' Walk—so full is it of the clergy, so enjoyed and lorded over by them. Verily, it is at least as full of those hidden ones, who, in various wise which they call heresy, do worship God without man coming in between.

The tide of the time is with us.[1] Our once famous Godfrey of Strasburg is forgotten. Wolfram von Eschenbach is the universal model. His *Parzival* and *Titurel* live on the lips of the many rhymesters and minstrels who wander from town to town now, as once they did from court to court, and castle to castle. It is the religiousness and the learning of Wolfram that finds favour for him and countless imitators. This is the good sign I mean. Our singers have turned preachers. They are practical, after their fashion. They are a Book of Proverbs, and give us maxims, riddles, doctrines, science, in their verses. If they sing of chivalry, it is to satirize chivalry—such knighthood

as now we have. They are spreading and descending towards the people. Men may have their songs of chivalry in Spain, where, under the blessed St. Iago, good knights and true have a real crusade against those heathen hounds the Moors, whom God confound. But here each petty lord in his castle has nothing to do but quarrel with his neighbour and oppress all weaker than himself. What to such men, robbing, drinking, devouring their living with harlots, are Arthur and the Round Table, or Oliver and Roland? So the singers come to us. In good sooth, the old virtues of knighthood—its truth and honour, its chastity and courage—are found far more among the citizens than with the nobles."

Finis. Soli Deo honor, & gloria in ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen.

Fig. 271.—Tailpiece. 17th century.

CHAPTER IX

PRINTERS' DEVICES

IN his *Histoire Litteraire des Vaudois*, Montet quotes from a Waldensian manuscript dated 1192, which concludes with the words "*Laus et gloria Christi Deo Gratias: Amen.*"

The piety of the early printers manifested itself in a similar form, and for 200 years we find few printed books that do not terminate in a doxology such as "*Laus Deo*," "*Soli Deo Gratia*," "*Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.*" Sometimes these postscripts assume a Kabbalistic form, and after the word *Finis* are to be seen mere letters such as DOM, LSD, OAMDG, etc. These are easily resolved into phrases — D(eo) O(ptimo) M(aximo); L(aus) S(oli) D(eo), and so forth. At times we find little passages from Scripture thus:

> Job xii. 9—The hand of the Lord hath wrought this.
> Psalm cxvi. 12—What shall I render to the Lord?

In Fig. 271 it will be seen that the printer has added a woodcut to his doxology. The device of a vase or basket full of flowers is an ornament frequently employed not only as a tailpiece, but as a printers' mark. According to Durandus, "Flowers are portrayed to represent the fruits of good works springing from the roots of virtue." In Montet's *Histoire Litteraire*, I find an Albigensian stating, "It is our duty to gather our works and offer them to God." Sometimes in lieu of flowers, we find a dish of fruits, as in Fig. 272.

"One of the most important and interesting phases in connection with printers' marks," says Mr W. Roberts, the

Fig. 272.—Tailpiece. 1674.

most recent writer on this subject, "is undoubtedly the *motif* of the pictorial embellishments. Both the precise origin and the object of many marks are now lost to us." He adds, "We do not propose offering any kind of explanation for these singular marks."

The attitude of Bibliography towards printers' ornaments is, we thus see, on a par with its knowledge of paper-marks, and by suggesting a rational explanation for both these mysterious forms of craftmanship, I am treading, not on controversial ground, but peacefully surveying a tract of research hitherto uncharted.

The current opinion about printers' marks is summed up by Mr Roberts as follows: "Shorn of all romance and glamour which seem inevitably to surround every early phase of typographic art, a printer's device may be described as nothing more or less than a trademark." Doubtless in many cases they came to be regarded as trademarks, but the suggestion that they served no other purpose is unwarranted. On the contrary, it is clear that in a great many cases printers' devices were emblems pure and simple. I write, for instance, with a *Histoire Prophane* before me, written by a Mons. L. E. Du Pin, and published at Antwerp in five

volumes by Jean Francois Lucas (1717). The title-pages of these five volumes each bears a different mark, one of them reproduced in Fig. 294. Similarly the works of Fénelon, published in four volumes at Antwerp in 1723 by Henry de la Meule, bear four different emblems on the title-pages, one of them reproduced in Fig. 299.

Not only do we find printers using a variety of designs in the same books, but identical emblems were used by different printers. Now a trademark is the immediate jewel of a craftsman's soul, and I cannot reconcile the employment in common of certain marks with the theory that they were "nothing more or less" than trade devices.

There is honour among printers which would veto such a practice, and the craftsmen we are discussing were admittedly men of distinguished integrity. Mr Roberts himself comments upon their partiality for *Scriptural* designs. "It will not be necessary," says he, "to enter deeply into the motives which induced so many of the old printers to select their devices, or the illustrations of their marks from Biblical sources, and it must suffice to say that if the object is frequently hidden from us to-day the fact of the extent of their employment cannot be controverted."

Commenting on the frequent use of the Cross, Mr Roberts quotes the opinion of M. Delalain that this fact had its origin from printers' "affiliation with a religious Fraternity." M. Delalain's surmise came very near the truth.

Let us now apply the touch of symbolism to these ornaments and see what it yields. In Figs. 273 and 274 we have an eagle flying from town holding the device "By moving." Surrounding Fig. 273 are roses which may be read as the emblem of secrecy, or of the heretical philosophy, or both combined. It was "by movement" that the Albi-

M. FABII QUINTILIANI

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Cum Indice locupletiſſimo, tam in Textum, quam Notas.

LUGD. BATAV. ET ROTERODAMI. } Ex Officina HACKIANA.

cIↃ IↃ C LXV.

FIG. 273.

TANAQVILLI FABRI

EPISTOLÆ.

PARS POSTERIOR.

EDITIO ALTERA PRIORI EMENDATIOR.

Additæ ſunt

ARISTOPHANIS

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΖΟΤΣΑΙ

Cum Interpretatione nova, Notis & Emendationibus.

SALMVRII,

Typis & Sumpubus { ISAACI DESBORDES & IOANNIS LESNERII.

M. DC. LXXIV.

FIG. 274.

genses leavened Europe. "We fly from town to town," says the Perfect One quoted on page 46. "We travel through many nations just like vagabonds," says the Alchemist quoted on page 93. Peter Waldo became a wandering exile, and his followers were in some countries termed "*passagenes*," on account of their roving proclivities. It was by wandering and teaching that the typical John Wessel earned the sobriquet "*Lux Mundi*."

"In those days," says Vaughan, "almost every great scholar was also a great traveller. The wanderings of Agrippa and his theosophic brethren contributed not a little to the progress and diffusion of occult science. These errant professors of magic, like those aërial travellers the insects, carried everywhere with them the pollen of their mystic Lily, the symbol of theosophy, and sowed the fructifying particles in minds of kindred growth wherever they came."

The Troubadours were beloved vagabonds, knights errant in the service of the Lady Sophia, but not wandering merely as the breath of fancy took them. Arrangements seem to have been made for systematic circuits. "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased," was a popular motto frequently employed by authors. Our English scholar, Joseph Mede, maintained that this increase of knowledge had been manifested at the beginning of the twelfth century by the discovery of a new and up to that time unheard-of principle of interpreting the prophecies relating to Antichrist. Instead of a personality, Antichrist was then and subsequently regarded as the series of Roman pontiffs or the Papacy—"a deep and subtle corruption which had usurped the name of Christianity."

Mede *based this interpretation on an Albigensian manuscript* dated 1120. In 1494 a Waldensian woman

charged with heresy, testified that her pastor had told her that there was a small number of people in the world without whom the world must perish; that this little flock had learnt by the commandments of God how to serve Him, and that they "travelled about the world to instruct men how they might adore and honour Him, and to reform the abuses of the Church of Rome." Thus from whatever point of approach we view *Movendo*, the motto is seen to be identified with heresy.

The Eagle was an emblem of soaring thoughts. "Some writings," says a philosopher, "have more of the eagle in them than others." The reader will also recall the passage where Durandus likens the Gospel to an eagle because of the words: "He came flying upon the wings of the wind." "The nature of the eagle," says an old writer, "is to bend her eyes full into the sunne beams. So strong is her sighte that she can even see into the great and glaring sunne." Hence the eagle was regarded as the bird of Light, and was sometimes used as a symbol of the Holy Spirit.

FIG. 277.—Device of Joannes Theodore. Jena, 1670.

FIG. 278.—Device of Abraham Wolfgang. Amsterdam, 1687.

Figs. 277, 278, and 279 represent a Fox finding honey in a tree: the motto "By seeking." The stories of how Reynard the Fox outwitted his traditional enemy Isengrim the Wolf, were popular in Europe for many centuries. If

we substitute *Heresy* for Reynard, and *Rome* for Isengrim, we can understand why these seemingly childish stories enjoyed such an immense vogue. "These heretic foxes," percipiently said Gregory IX., "have different faces, but they all hang together by the tails."

At the foot of Fig. 280 will be observed a chameleon. This little reptile, by reason of its colour-changing habits,

FIG. 279.—Device of Robert Roger. Berlin, 1700.

FIG. 280.—Initial Letter. London, 1688.

was regarded as the emblem of slyness, dissimulation and cunning. The honey that is being found by the many-faced fox of heresy is *bien entendu*, celestial honey. We

FIG. 281.—Headpiece. London, 1664.

find De Bury apostrophising books as "rocks flowing with honey, nay, combs of honey, by which the human mind is nourished." A few lines on he likens them to "vines

of Engadi." In Fig. 281 we see an angel offering the vine and honeysuckle—the flower that gathers and suckles its sweetness from the dew of God's spirit. It is possibly for the reason that the Albigenses were themselves such devoted and laborious honey-makers, that Dante figures a swarm of bees encircling the Rose of Paradise. The passage is as follows:—

> "In fashion, as a snow-white rose, lay then
> Before my view the saintly multitude,
> Which in His own blood Christ espoused. Meanwhile,
> That other host, that soar aloft to gaze
> And celebrate his glory, whom they love,
> Hover'd around; and, like a troop of bees,
> Amid the vernal sweets alighting now,
> Now, clustering where their fragrant labour glows,
> Flew downward to the mighty flower, or rose
> From the redundant petals, streaming back
> Unto the steadfast dwelling of their joy.
> Faces they had of flame, and wings of gold:
> The rest was whiter than the driven snow:
> And, as they flitted down into the flower,
> From range to range, fanning their plumy loins,
> Whisper'd the peace and ardour, which they won
> From that soft winnowing. Shadow none, the vast
> Interposition of such numerous flight
> Cast, from above, upon the flower, or view
> Obstructed aught. For, through the universe,
> Wherever merited, celestial light
> Glides freely, and no obstacle prevents."

Among the little animals which figure prominently among printers' marks, one of the most popular was the squirrel. We learn that "when the squirrel is hunted she cannot be driven to the ground, unlesse extremitie of faintnesse cause her to do so through an unwilling compulsion, for such is the stately mind of this little beast that while her limbes and strength lasteth she tarrieth and

saveth herself in the tops of tall trees, disdaining to come down for every harm or hurt which she feeleth: knowing, indeed, her greatest danger to rest below amongst the dogs and busie hunters. From whence may be gathered a perfect pattern for us, to be secured from all the wiles and hungrie chasings of the treacherous devil: namely, that we keep above in the loftie palaces of heavenlie meditations, for there is small securitie in things on earth; and greatest ought to be our fear of danger, when we leave to look and think of heaven."

Figs. 282 and 283 represent a squirrel cracking nuts. Speaking of books, De Bury says, "Most men inconsiderately fling away the nut before they have broken the

Fig. 282.—Tailpiece. London, 1719.

Fig. 283.—Tailpiece. Cologne, 1708.

Fig. 284.—Headpiece. London, 1641.

shell and reached the kernel." What De Bury means by "kernel" is made clear by the translator of Diodati's *Pious and Learned Annotations upon the Holy Bible* (1664). This anonymous writer observes that "the

written word of God—I mean not the shell or outside of a bare literal sense (there is more in it), but the inside and kernel of a true spiritual meaning therein comprised—is a masse of infinite delights."

It is obvious that the squirrel ("the little animal which gladly hides itself") was used by printers as an emblem of cracking away the outward husk of the Letter and feeding on the Spirit, another mode of expressing the lesson that papermakers conveyed by their snuffers.

Around Fig. 282 will be noticed the rose of secret heresy, the lily of pure life, and the olive of peace.

It will be remembered that the Albigenses considered that the Hereafter would be enriched by the contemplation

FIG. 285.—1521.

FIG. 286.—1464.

FIG. 291.—1596.

of the ineffable loveliness of the Holy Spirit. The iridescent beauty of its plumage led to the peacock being accepted as an emblem of the Holy Spirit. In Figs. 285 to 289 we see some of the uses to which printers and papermakers applied this emblem. In Eastern mythology Saraisvati, the goddess of sacred or secret knowledge, is usually depicted as riding on a peacock. The eyes on the feathers

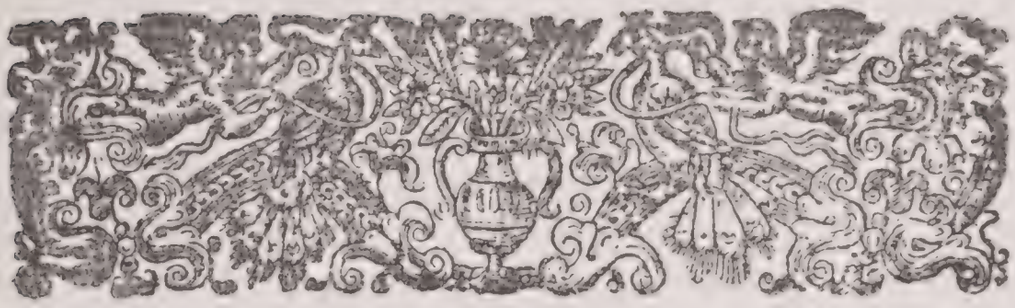


Fig. 287.—Headpiece. London, 1642.

Fig. 288.—Initial. London, 1620.

Fig. 289.—Tailpiece. Paris, 1650.

Fig 290.—Tailpiece. London, 1721.

of the bird's tail symbolised the sleepless eyes that see all things. To one who had the ambition to advance in sacred knowledge, they were a reminder that he must have the hundred eyes of Argus to see and comprehend all things. As the Alchemist warned us: "Do not believe what Basilius here says, but *keep your eyes wide open.*"

Mrs. G. F. Watts describes the peacock as the bird of Hope, the hope of immortality, "chosen because the poetic teachers who fixed our symbols saw that those wonderful blue eyes, surrounded by rays shining with the colour of light, were cast every year, and renewed again, and yet again; possibly, too, because they saw the blind blue eye looked ever upwards to the heavens while it was trailed along the earth."

In Fig. 285 (a papermark) the peacock evidently symbolised the highest attainment of the glorified human soul, what the mystic would express as the height of Contemplation, the bliss of Union, or the attainment of Ecstasy. The supposed incorruptibility of peacock's flesh led to this bird being occasionally considered as an emblem of the resurrection. But the more popular symbol of resurrection was the phœnix, mythically supposed to be reborn out of its own funeral pyre. The phœnix, says Mr. Wigston, was an allegorical bird of time signifying *rebirth* and resurrection out of its own ashes. It is shewn in Fig. 291.

Fig. 291A.—Initial. London, 17th century.

In the middle of Fig. 287 we have the St. Grail. In Fig. 291 we see it used as an initial letter, and in Fig. 292 it forms the centre to a design obviously illustrating the

Romaunt of the Rose. Observe the "Orchard of Love peopled with novel plants."

"Haut fut le mur et *tous quarree* l'enceinte benie."

Fig. 292.—Tailpiece. "Salmanticæ," 1655.

Figs. 293 and 294 shew modes of employing the Dove of the Holy Spirit as a symbol. In Fig. 295 we have the

Fig. 293.—Headpiece. London, 1717.

Fleur-de-lys; in Fig. 296 the sacred Tau, and in Fig. 297 the heart flaming with the love of charity, each emblem surrounded by a halo.

It will not have escaped the reader's notice that the symbols we are considering stretch in an unbroken chain from the

Fig. 294.—Device. Antwerp, 1717.

Fig. 295.—Device.
London, 1638.

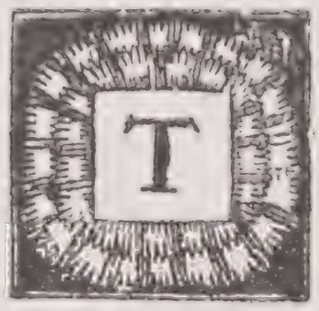


Fig. 296.—Initial.
London, 17th century.

Fig. 297.—Device.
London, 1640.

Fig. 298.—Papermark.
18th century.

dark ages to modern Europe, and that the Reformation seems to have had little or no influence upon their employment. It is stated by historians that of the manifold heresies flourishing in the twilight of the Middle Ages,

some died of inanition, the others merged their identity in the great wave of the Reformation. The torch of Luther undoubtedly set ablaze many long smouldering fires, but the actions of the Lutheran leaders must quickly have undeceived the Albigensian Church had it cherished a supposition that the long-looked-for sunrise was at hand. Events quickly proved that far from liberating thought from the tyranny of Dogma, the Reformation was merely an exchange of gaolers, and that in many respects gaoler No. 2 was as brutal and forbidding as gaoler No. 1. Though Lutherism never produced a Torquemada, the atrocities of witch-hunting ran the Inquisition very close. The devilry that burnt Servetus was the same that murdered Huss, Bruno, Galileo and Vanini, and the annals of Protestantism are stained as red *pro rata* as those of Roman Catholicism. Lutherism has left its footprints all over England in the form of abbey ruins. With an unhallowed hand it made a clean sweep of imagery and symbolism, substituting in place of them the materialism that is recoiling with such deadly force upon the churches of to-day. The Reformation did indeed break one yoke, but merely to impose another. "We are obliged to confess," says Dr Beard, "that especially in Germany it soon parted company with free learning, that it turned its back upon culture, that it lost itself in a maze of arid theological controversy, that it held out no hand to awakening science."

Far from "extending help" it did its utmost to stamp out all studies except those relating to its own dogmas. Luther went so far as to say that when once the Bible was in all men's hands, there would be an end of human book-writing: God's word would be enough. Fanatics were found to assert that Philosophy was an invention of the

Devil, and that what approved itself to natural reason could not be theologically true. Beza, not satisfied with administering the just judgments of God on the wicked" (*i.e.* those who ventured to dissent from the grim theology of Calvin), denounced liberty of conscience as "a diabolical dogma." Luther termed schoolmen "locusts, caterpillars, frogs, and lice." Reason he characterised as the "Arch Whore," and the "Devil's Bride"; Aristotle was a "Prince of Darkness," "horrid impostor," "public and professed liar, beast and twice execrable."

Hess was eager to dissuade Melancthon from teaching Greek which he contemptuously termed "a childish lecture," yet Hess had fears "lest we Germans should become more barbarous than ever we were by reason of the decline of Letters brought about by our Theology." This decline was so marked that the booksellers declared that, previous to the advent of Lutherism, they were able to sell 3000 volumes in less time than was subsequently required to sell 600.

Although Luther himself was an advocate for education, it is clear that there was only too much justification for the saying of Erasmus, "Wherever Lutherism reigns there good letters perish."

In 1522 Melancthon alludes to the signal folly of those "who at the present day think that piety consists only in the contempt of all good letters, of all ancient erudition," and a little later we find him writing to a correspondent that unless he and men like him defend and foster letters, a Scythian barbarism or something worse must settle upon Germany.

What was feared seems to have happened. "Listen to the Papists," says Luther, "the sole argument they use

against us is that no good result has come of my doctrine. And in fact, scarce did I begin to preach my Gospel before the country burst into frightful revolt; schisms and sects tore the Church; everywhere honesty, morality, and good order fell to ruin; everyone thought to live independently and conduct himself after his own fancy and caprices and pleasure as though the reign of the Gospel drew with it the suppression of all law, right and discipline. Licence and all kinds of vice and turpitudes are carried in all conditions to an extent they never were before. In those days there was some observance of duty, the people especially were decorous, but now like a wild horse without reign and bridle, without constraint or decency, they rush on the accomplishment of their grossest lusts."

To the eyes of the judicious, the Reformation must therefore have appeared but a horrible abortion. In the darkness that surrounded them—as they themselves tell us—they languished like flies in winter. Quarles, our English emblem writer, well expresses the fears and aspirations of his fellows; addressing Phosphorus, the Morning Star, he writes:—

"Will't ne'er be morning? Will that promised light
Ne'er break, and clear those clouds of night?
Sweet Phosphor, bring the day,
Whose conqu'ring ray
May chase these fogs; sweet Phosphor, bring the day.
How long! How long shall these benighted eyes
Languish in shades, like feeble flies
Expecting spring? How long shall darkness soil
The face of earth, and thus beguile
Our souls of sprightful action? When, when will day
Begin to dawn, whose new-born ray
May gild the weathercocks of our devotion,
And give our unsoul'd souls new motion?

Sweet Phosphor, bring the day;
Thy light will fray
These horrid mists; sweet Phosphor, bring the day.

Alas! my light in vain expecting eyes
Can find no objects, but what rise
From this poor mortal blaze, a dying spark
Of Vulcan's forge, whose flames are dark,
A dang'rous, dull blue-burning light,
As melancholy as the night:
Here's all the suns that glister in the sphere
Of earth: Ah me! what comforts here?
Sweet Phosphor, bring the day;
Haste, haste away
Heav'n's loit'ring lamp; sweet Phosphor, bring the day.

Blow, Ignorance: O thou, whose idle knee
Rocks earth into a lethargy,
And with thy sooty fingers has benight
The world's fair cheeks, blow, blow thy spite:
Since thou hast puft our greater taper; do
Puff on, and out the lesser too;
If e'er that breath-exiled flame return,
Thou hast not blown, as it will burn:
Sweet Phosphor, bring the day;
Light will repay
The wrongs of night; sweet Phosphor, bring the day."

It is unnecessary to qualify this and succeeding quotations from *English* poets. English and continental literature were so inextricably connected that—even after the disuse of Latin—they may be said to have formed an ideal Republic. "I am impressed," says Mr. Sidney Lee, "by the proofs I am accumulating of the closeness of the relations between Elizabethan literary effort and that of contemporary France and Italy; and of the community of literary taste and feeling, which almost rendered literary Europe at the end of the sixteenth century a single Commonwealth of Letters."

For centuries the poets and philosophers had been at loggerheads with the clergy. The irreconcilable intensity of feeling may be judged from the words of Erasmus. "There is," he writes, "a wretched class of men of low degree, yet full of malice—not less dingy, nor less filthy, nor less vile than beetles, who, nevertheless, by a certain obstinate malignity of disposition though they can never do good to any mortal become frequently troublesome to the great. They frighten by their ugliness, they molest by their noise, they offend by their stench; they buzz round us, they cling to us, they lie in ambush for us, so that it is often better to be on enmity with powerful men than to attack these beetles whom it is a disgrace ever to overcome and whom no one can either shake off or encounter without some pollution." In similar tone wrote Luther, "not a man but feels disgust when he sees or hears a clergyman approaching." Dr. Beard says that the monks unanimously called their opponents "the poets" and that the phrase became a term of contempt in clerical circles. He adds, "It was a hopeless struggle: not only the conflict of darkness with light, but between combatants on the one side stupidly and ludicrously ignorant, on the other equipped with the best learning of the age. . . . Argument was hardly possible: the poets despised the verbal subtleties of the scholastic theologians, while on the other hand the schoolmen blinked like owls in sunshine in the light of the new learning."

But the philosophers, whose footprints we are tracking, were not content to sit down and wail their woes; they were desperately hard at work dissipating the horrid mists.

Fig. 299 is an emblem of the Titanic struggle that was waged down the centuries by the thinkers so slyly

and insidiously that only the *results* of their labours have hitherto been recognised or chronicled.

The cock was, as we have seen, the awakener of sleeping minds. In a letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford Giordano Bruno (at one period of his life a corrector of proofs for the press) styles himself, among other titles,

Fig. 299.—Device. Antwerp, 1723.

"The awakener of sleeping minds." But the cock was used also with a deeper symbolism. There is a Chinese legend that in the far away Happy Island of the Eastern Ocean is situated the Tree of Life. Upon the topmost branches sits a golden cock, whose function it is to awaken the glorious sun which (in dispelling darkness) is held to disperse the evil spirits of night. These spirits, so the Chinese think, abhor the truth of the Sun's light and shrink back into the darkness of Hell. When the golden cock begins his song "all the cocks in the world are thus stirred up and begin to crow."

It is clear that the Albigenses were acquainted *inter alia* with this legend, just as they were familiar with the Eastern idea that the Deity dwelt in the heart of a celestial rose. It is interesting, moreover, to find that our English

poets were equally cognizant of the fable. In *Hamlet* Shakespeare says:—

> "The cock that is the trumpet to the morn
> Doth with his lofty and shrill sounding throat
> Awake the God of Day."

In *Cornelia* Kyd refers to:—

> "The cheerful cock, the sad nights comforter
> Waiting upon the rising of the Sun."

Similar passages occur in the writings of Edmund Spenser, and George Peele.

Milton in a sublime prayer on behalf of England writes: "Thou therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of Angels and men; look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring land; leave her not a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock; these wild boars that have broken into the vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of Thy servants. O let them not bring about their vile designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watchword to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to re-involve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never see the Sun of thy Truth again, *never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the Bird of Morning sing.*"

Constant allusions to the Coming Sunrise are to be met with. We find the anonymous author of *Fama Fraternitatis*, R.C. (1614-1616) writing: "Although now through the sorrowful fall into Sin this excellent jewel Wisdom hath been lost and mere darkness and ignorance is come into the world, yet notwithstanding . . . blessed Aurora will now

begin to appear who after the passing away of the dark night of Saturn . . . is a forerunner of pleasant Phœbus who with her clear and glistening beams brings forth that blessed day long wished for of many . . . according to the doctrine of our forefathers, and ancient wise men." In an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Confessio Fraternitatis*, R.C. (1614) we find a similar prophecy of the Dawn for which so many were indefatigably working. "Now there remains that in a short and swiftly approaching time . . . the world shall have slept away the intoxication of her poisoned and stupefying chalice, and with an open heart, bare head, and naked feet, shall merrily and joyfully go forth to meet the Sun rising in the morning." The same anonymous writer "confesses" that "many high intelligences *by their writings* will be a great furtherance unto this Reformation which is to come," and "sooner shall the stones rise up and offer their service than there shall be any want of executors of God's counsel."

In Fig 299, then, we have an expressive emblem of Chanticleer ringing his midnight peal to entertain the Morn that is rising behind him.

Before quitting this subject, it may be as well to point out as an instance of the cleavage between Poesy and Ecclesiasticism that—in England at any rate—the cock was regarded with disfavour by the Church as a sort of Devil's messenger from his crowing after Peter's denial. Throwing at cocks with a stick was a Shrove Tuesday pastime, which was enjoyed by many divines as a pious exercise.

The mode in which the papermakers symbolised the spread of light is seen in Fig. 300, a spreading Fleur-de-lys budding in every direction. From the IS to be seen in Fig. 82, it is clear that the Fleur-de-lys symbolised Christ the Spirit

and Light of the World shining amid the darkness that comprehended It not. The Fleur-de-lys was sacred to

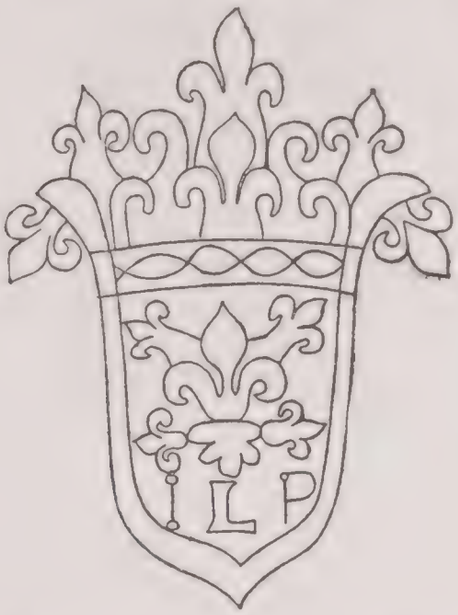


Fig. 300.—Papermark. 17th century.

Lux; thus we find it sometimes alluded to as the flower de *Luce*. It was the symbol *par excellence* of papermakers, and typified the mental light they were the means of spread-

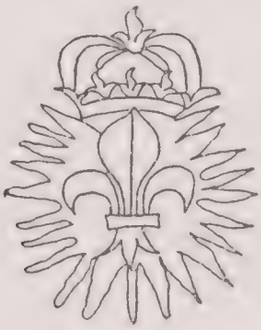


Fig. 301.—Papermark. 17th century.

ing. It is a significant fact that the motto of the Waldenses of Piedmont was *Lux lucet in tenebris*—"The Light shines in darkness."

In its attempt "to expel from the world all those things which darken human knowledge" the mystical church of the Holy Spirit had in hand a task in comparison with which the labours of Hercules were child's play.

It was perfectly well realised that ages must transpire before the harvest could be reaped, a knowledge that was

Fig. 302.—Device. Paris, 1701.

expressed by emblems such as Fig. 302. The palm is the slowest growing of trees, yet as the motto states: "In time it will bear fruit." Almost everywhere we find snails introduced implying "Slow but Sure."

An Elizabethan poet writes:—

"The slowest snail in time we see
Doth creep and *climb aloft*."

Fig. 303.—Tailpiece.
Paris, 1650.

Fig. 304.
Papermark, 1478.

Fig. 305.—Tailpiece.
London, 1727.

Fig. 306.—Initial.
Geneva (?), 17th century.

This policy of Slow but Sure was expressed by the motto

Festina Lente, "Make haste slowly." In Fig. 307 the anchor denotes slowness, the dolphin speed. "I can surely affirm," said Aldus, "that I have as my constant companions the dolphin and the anchor. I have accomplished much by holding fast and much by pressing on." This same idea was also conveyed by a crab and a butterfly. The author of *Signes de nos Pensées* (Paris 1717) says that a butterfly and a *crayfish* indicated make haste slowly. The snail, the crayfish, and the crab were evidently interchangeable symbols expressive of the same idea. In Fig. 312 it will be

FIG. 307.—Device. Geneva, 1628.

FIG. 308. Papermark, 1415.

seen that the artist has introduced the snail and butterfly among his flowers. The word *matura*, mature things, indicates that hastening slowly produces mature works. These workers consciously and deliberately laid great bases for eternity.

We find the Albigensian maxim, "To work is to pray,"

modified into various forms, such as Plantin's "By labour and constancy"; Fig. 313, "For thou shalt labour"; Fig. 366,

Fig. 309.—Device. Leyden, 1640.

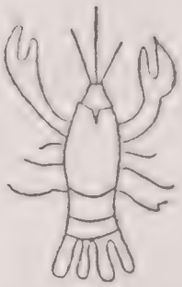


Fig. 310. Papermark, 1440.

Fig. 311. Papermark, 1549.

"Sow without doubting," and so forth. The love of peace and concord was inculcated by emblems such as Fig. 314, "By

Fig. 312.—Tailpiece. London, 1722.

peace, plenty—by wisdom, peace," "By concord small things become great," "Charitas," "Non Solus," and similar phrases.

In *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers* Green tells us that "the gallant ship courageously handled and with high

Fig. 313.—Device. London, 1683.

Fig. 314.—Device. London, 1605.

Fig. 315.—Device. Amsterdam, 1726.

soul of perseverance and fearlessness guided through adverse waves has for long ages been the type of brave men and brave women struggling against difficulties."

In Fig. 318 we see this ship of man's soul steering hopefully for the City of the Sun. "Follow no man. There is nothing in the world of any value but the Divine light—

follow it." "I applaud your devotion to Philosophy," wrote Plotinus, A.D. 260; "I rejoice to hear that your soul has set sail, like the returning Ulysses for its native land —that glorious, that only real country—the world of unseen truth."

FIG. 318.—Device. Cologne, 1752.

In Figs. 316 and 317 we have the papermarks of two long-forgotten pilgrims—Ships that passed in the Night. "Of all who have sailed the seas of life, no men have experienced a range of vicissitude more wide than has fallen to the lot of some among the mystics. Theirs have been the dazzling heights; the lowest depths also have been theirs. Their solitary vessels have been swept into the frozen North, where the ice of a great despair has closed about them like the ribs of death, and through a long soul's winter they have lain hidden in cold and darkness, as some belated swallow in the cleft of a rock."

FIG. 316.—Papermark.
15th and 16th centuries.

FIG. 317.—Papermark.
15th and 16th centuries.

CHAPTER X

THE TRANSFERENCE OF WOODBLOCKS

I HAVE in my possession a roughly classified collection of Head- and Tail-pieces, among which may be seen many examples of prints of *identical blocks*, employed by "rival" printers. In these days it is a simple matter by the aid of the electrotype process to make manifold reproductions of any desired woodblock, but in olden times such methods were unknown. Stereotyping was invented in 1725, but the details being crude and the process new, there was much opposition, and it was not until the early part of the nineteenth century that it was generally adopted. Electrotyping was not introduced until 1836 or about that period.

The Head-piece used over the dedication of Watss' translation of *The Advancement of Learning*, produced at Oxford in 1640, was used six years previously by a London printer as the Head-piece to Book IV. of *Moses and Aaron*. There is a blemish in each of the prints conclusively proving that both were impressions from the same block. How came it to be transferred from London to Oxford? I have before me impressions from a block that was at Amsterdam in 1687, at Paris in 1697, and back again at the Hague in 1720. Similar instances of migration can be multiplied indefinitely. The 1720 edition of Pope's *Iliad*, "printed by W. Hunter for Bernard Lintott," contains a very curious design, see

Fig. 348. In the previous year it was employed in Boerhaaves' *Method of Studying Physick*, "printed by H. P. for C. Rivington."

If we compare the three folio editions of Shakespeare's Plays, we are confronted at once with further instances of the same problem. The first folio (1623) is "printed by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount"; the second (1632) is "printed by Thos. Cotes for Robert Allot"; the third (1664) is "printed for P. C." Thomas Cotes, the printer of the second folio uses at least eight blocks (including an initial letter) that were employed nine years previously by Jaggard. The printer of the third folio uses at least three blocks that were employed by Thomas Cotes thirty-two years earlier. A writer in *The Library*, discussing an edition of a certain disputed work, observed recently, "But supposing for the sake of argument that some printer had wished to reprint the work, should we expect to find him in possession of exactly similar type to that used twenty or thirty years previously and of exactly the same initial letters, head-and tail-pieces and ornaments as those used by Wolfe in 1559? I think this highly improbable."

It is a course wildly improbable, yet such transferences unquestionably took place, and the only theory that will satisfactorily explain the facts is either that printers were on the friendliest terms or that book ornaments were not the property of any particular printer, but were transferred by some association engaged in the propagation of knowledge. Whether either or both of these suggestions are correct does not affect the interest that *per se* the designs possess.

In Fig. 319 we have the pelican of Self-sacrifice.

In Fig. 320 we see the stag emblem of solitude, shyness,

thirst for truth, and animosity towards serpents. The bat shewn in Fig. 321, according to Valerian, was the emblem

Fig. 319.—Headpiece. Paris, 1675.

Fig. 320.—Headpiece. Leyden, 1640.

Fig. 321.—Headpiece. London, 1635.

of "mutual offices," "justice," and "*lucifuga*," by which term we may understand that shyness of the light of publicity which was so extraordinary a characteristic of past publishing. I estimate the proportion of books issued anonymously must be quite 70 per cent.; if we add those published modestly under the cover of pseudonyms or initials, we might say 80 per cent.; and if to these were added posthumous publications, which for the first time saw the light of print many years *after their alleged*

Fig. 322.—Headpiece. London, 1665.

Fig. 323.—Headpiece. Madrid, 1683.

FIG. 324.—Headpiece. 16th and 17th centuries.

FIG. 325.—Headpiece. 16th and 17th centuries

author's death, the figures would, I am convinced, be even more astonishing.

In Figs. 322 and 323 we have a good example of another peculiarity of old bookmaking. Here the identical block has not been transferred from London to Madrid, but the design has been carefully and minutely copied. The fidelity of the detail, not merely in this particular instance, but also in many others, makes one surmise that "even unto the points and pricks here are to be found great mysteries."

The bear so frequently to be seen sitting out the long winter of its discontent was, as already stated, the emblem of "hidden manners" (*mores occulti*) because of its hibernating and cave dwelling habits. The bear and the bat seem therefore to have conveyed similar ideas.

To the same group we may probably add the squirrel and the rabbit. The timidity, fecundity, and burrowing habits of the rabbit rendered it a very apt symbol of its employers.

The hound, as in Figs. 326, 327 and 328, was the emblem of the pursuit of knowledge. According to Valerian, it

FIG. 326.—Headpiece. London, 1721.

meant *philosophia communicata*. Constant references to the pursuit and communication of knowledge are to be found in the literature of the period. It is a metaphor that was constantly employed by Francis Bacon. "Arts

and Sciences," says he, "hunt after their works." In this "hunting and hounding of nature," this "hunt of Pan or learned experience," the "hunters after knowledge" hunt not for fame, but are "sagacious in hunting out works dealing with experiments." The editor of Campanella's

FIG. 327.—Headpiece. Paris, 1605.

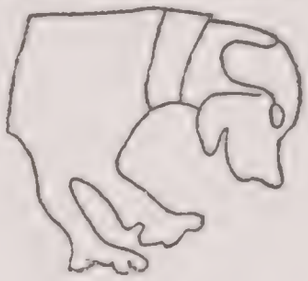


FIG. 329.
Papermark, 1385.

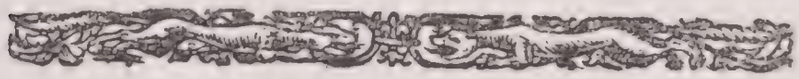


FIG. 328.—Headline. London, 1634.

works expresses the same sentiments. "We pursue," says he, "the same ends seeing we tread the same footsteps in tracing and as it were *hounding nature* by sense and experience." Ben Jonson by a slight twist of the metaphor gives us that traditional combination of *la bonté et la sagesse*:—

"Turn hunters then
Again
But not of men
Follow His ample
And just example.

That hates all chase of malice and of blood
And studies only ways of good
To keep soft peace in breath.
Men should not hunt mankind to death
But strike the enemy of man;
Kill vices if you can
They are your wildest beasts,
And when they thickest fall you make the Gods true feasts."

A type of dog that figures very prominently in watermark, is the greyhound. A reference to this symbol is made several times by Dante, but his meaning is so obscure that commentators have been completely baffled. In *Hell* the poet refers to an allegorical monster ravenous and unruly that blocked his way and continued her accursed depredations :—

> " Until that *greyhound* come who shall destroy
> Her with sharp pain. He will not life support
> By earth or its base metals but by love
> Wisdom and Virtue . . .
> He with incessant chase, through every town
> Shall worry, until he to Hell at length
> Restore her, thence by Envy first let loose."

Observe the aspect of worry and incessant chase in Figs. 331 and 332, and observe too how these greyhound emblems

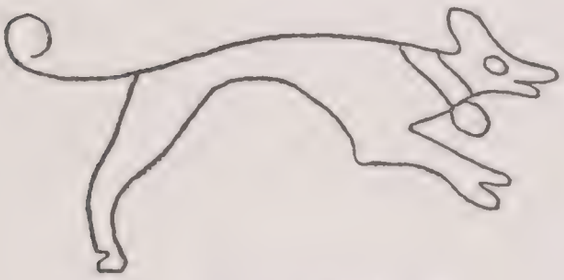


FIG. 330.—Papermark, 1380.

FIG. 331.—Papermark, 1363.

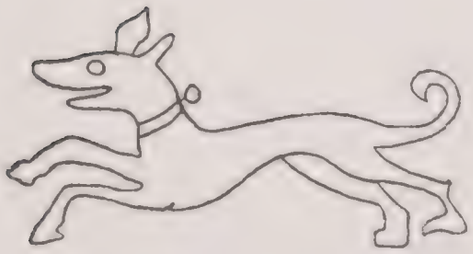


FIG. 332.—Papermark, 1440.

FIG. 333.—Papermark, 1414.

are all distinguished by the little bell signifying "acute preaching." In *Purgatory* Dante refers again to this

subject, this time characterising the hell-born monster as a "*Wolf*"—the wolf being a customary synonym for the tyranny of the Court of Rome—

> "Accurst be thou
> Inveterate wolf! whose gorge ingluts more prey
> Than every beast beside, yet is not fill'd
> So bottomless thy maw!—Ye spheres of Heaven!
> . . . When is the day
> Of his appearing, for whom Fate reserves
> To chase her hence?"

Mr. Edmund A. Gardner, commenting upon this passage, observes that this prophecy of the *Veltro* or greyhound, the

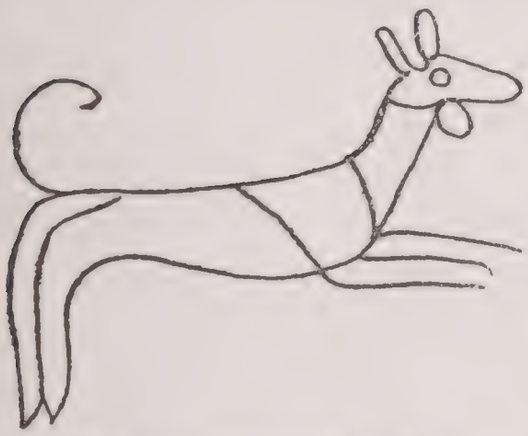


Fig. 334.—Papermark, 1387.

Fig. 335.—Papermark, 1477.

Coming Deliverer, is one of the insoluble problems of the *Divina Commedia*. The earliest commentators did not recognise any specific individual under this imagery, but supposed the prophecy to refer either to the second coming of Christ or to the advent of some heroic personage (preferably an Emperor or a Pope), who should renovate the world and bring back the golden age. The millennium was, as we know, the ever-present dream of the mystics, and the appearance of these belled watermarks is presumptive evidence that the greyhound that was eventually to

destroy the monster Ignorance was nothing more or less than an emblem of persistent and energetic education.

From hunting it is merely a step to Pan the God of Hunters. The great god Pan is figured in a variety of forms, and we find him appearing in tail-pieces, head-pieces and initials. It was a reproach cast constantly at the poets and philosophers that they were Pantheists, *i.e.* that they regarded Nature as Divine, and every human soul as a germ of God. Aroux charges Dante with Pantheism. Paracelsus, Bruno, Vanini, and Spinoza were outspoken pantheists, and the mystic philosophy of Jacob Bohme is permeated with the same system of thought. The Alchemists were pantheists. They characterised man as a microcosm or world in miniature made in the image of God—the Macrocosm or greater universe.

It is unnecessary to digress into a discussion on Pantheism. Briefly it may be described as the antithesis of Atheism. The Mystics refused to circumscribe their ideas of the Unknowable within the limits of a human form. They never maintained that *everything was God*, but recognised books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and *Go(o)d in everything*.

Everywhere in the maze of Nature they discerned the varied expression of one all-embracing and eternal Life or Power.

> "Before beginning, and without an end
> As space eternal and as surety sure
> Is fixed a Power Divine which moves to good
> Only its laws endure.
>
> Out of the dark it wrought the heart of man
> Out of dull shells the pheasants pencilled neck
> Ever at toil it brings to loveliness,
> All ancient wrath and wreck."

Fig. 336.—Headpiece, 1674.

Fig. 337.—Initial. Cambridge, 1642.

Fig. 338.—Initial. 16th century (?).

Fig. 339.—Headpiece. Paris, 17th century.

Fig. 340.—Tailpiece.
Leyden, 1638.

Fig. 341.—Tailpiece.
Paris, 1605.

Fig. 342.—Tailpiece.
Paris, 1717.

FIG. 343.—Tailpiece. 16th and 17th centuries.

FIG. 344.—Tailpiece. 16th and 17th centuries.

The heretics, as we have already seen, were charged with cherishing the arrogant and impious notion that man's soul might be developed into a god—its dross refined and its baser metals transmuted into gold. This was indeed the idea of the pantheists.

"Each hath such lordship as the loftiest ones,
Nay, for with Powers above, around, below,
As with all flesh and whatsoever lives
Act maketh joy and woe.

Higher than Indras ye may lift your lot
And sink it lower than the worm or gnat,
The end of many myriad lives is this
The end of myriads that."

The word *Pantheism* was not employed until 1707, but the ideas underlying the fable of Pan "the noblest of antiquity" are as ancient as recorded thought. Not only were they symbolised by the figure of Pan, but we find them expressed under the symbol of Artemis.

FIG. 345.—Headpiece. Geneva, 1634.

In Fig. 345 we see the spotless one, the intrepid and unwearied huntress, setting forth upon her quest. Among the Arcadians Artemis was worshipped with the symbol of a *bear*; the boar sent by her is said to have been "a symbol of the awakening every spring of the hunting season after the sleep of winter."

The boar emblem of the coming Dawn is shewn herewith in the form of papermark and printer's headline. The

Greek *Artemis* is identical with the Roman *Diana*, and the Egyptian *Isis*. Although a spotless virgin, she is also

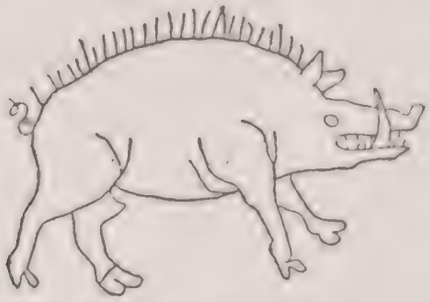


Fig. 346.—Papermark, 1491.

Fig. 347.—Headline. London, 1738.

represented as the many-breasted personification of the fructifying powers of Nature. In Fig. 349 we see her thus,

Fig. 349.—Tailpiece. Leyden, 1688.

with the horns of the new moon upon her forehead—a bright and imperial crest implying the divine flower of

the future and the dawn of more genuine truth. The numberless false dawns which were hailed by the poets

Fig. 348.—Headpiece. London, 1720.

and philosophers never deterred them from keeping open wide in expectation the eastward windows of their souls. Jacob Böhme's first work was characteristically entitled: "*Aurora the Day-spring, or Dawning of the Day in the East or Morning Redness in the Rising of the Sun*" (1575-1624).

We have seen how passionately Dante and Giordano Bruno hailed their mystic saint Sophia. Richard de Bury in his *Philibiblon* tells us that the love of books is the same thing as the love of wisdom. He continues: "Now this love is called by the Greek word *Philosophy*, the whole virtue of which no created intelligence can comprehend; for she is believed to be the mother of all good things." In the headpieces herewith, we have this idea expressed by the cornucopias, and in the baskets of fruit and flowers springing from the Virgin's head.

The Italian philosopher Vanini had his tongue torn out and his body burnt at the stake for his noxious heresies. Among other evidence put in against him, was the alleged impiety that he had dared to style Nature "the Queen of the Universe." Owen in his *Sceptics of the Italian Renaissance* tells us that Vanini in his fervent passion was

"half inclined to deify Nature." He adds: "Her cultus was the only instrument of freedom for thinking men that

FIG. 350.—Tailpiece. Paris, 17th century.

FIG. 351.—Headpiece. London, 1605.

could be opposed to the degrading superstitions of the time. He shared with Bruno the Lucretian conviction that the Divine mission of nature was to emancipate men from the thraldom of sacerdotalism and religious tyranny. His *Dialogues* were an attempt to inculcate this truth."

But there was really nothing either new or heretical in this widespread cult of the Virgin Sophia. "If a man commit himself unto her," say Ecclesiasticus, "he shall

inherit her, and his generation shall hold her in possession. For at the first she will walk with him by crooked ways, and bring fear and dread upon him and torment him with her discipline until she may trust his soul and try him by her laws. Then will she return the straight way unto him and comfort him, and shew him her secrets. But if he go wrong she will forsake him, and give him over, to his own ruin."

Referring to this same divinity Solomon says: "I loved her and sought her out from my youth; I desired to make her my spouse, and I was a lover of her beauty."

We have here the key that unlocks nearly all the mysterious love poetry of the Middle Ages. When we find Petrarch sonneteering in his extreme old age apparently to a married woman whose husband was then living, do we not observe the incongruity, especially when he likens his lady to no less a Being than the Son of God?

Chaucer, the friend of Wycliffe and intimate of contemporary Italian scholars, in a poem to his really nameless lady, has used, in order to designate her purity, the figurative French name *Blanche*; whereupon editors have gravely concluded that he was referring to the wife of John of Gaunt, whose name, it appears, was Blanche!

Commentators who have endeavoured, more or less in vain, to identify the Beatrices, Lauras, Cynthias, Phyllises, Phœbes, Ideas, Licias, and Elizabeths of the sonneteers may be referred to the Troubadour Hugo de Brunet. "If I be asked," says he, "to whom my songs are addressed, I keep it a secret. I *pretend* to such a one, *but it is nothing of the kind.*" The divine object of all this seemingly erotic literature was the elusive, wayward, exacting, bitter-sweet, and many-sided mistress whose

essence was expressed in that inscription of Isis: "I am all that hath been, is, or shall be; and no mortal has lifted my veil."

If anyone doubt that the Beatrice who conducted Dante into the heart of the Celestial Rose was aught else than the spirit of truth, let him turn to that enigma, the *Vita Nuova*. We are there told that "Beatrice" was nine years of age when Dante first met her. He remarks: "Many times the number nine hath appeared among the preceding words whereby it appeareth that it is not without reason." He then says that he will assign the reason "why this number was so friendly to her," and explains that three being the root of nine Beatrice was accompanied by the number nine to give to understand that *she* was a nine, that is a miracle whose root is the wondrous Trinity alone. Then he gives us permission to speculate a little by adding: "Perchance a more subtle person might see in it a yet more subtle reason."

Now the number *Nine* is equivalent to the Hebrew word for Truth. It is unnecessary to enter here into the Kabbalistic system known as *gemantria*, by means of which *numbers* represented *words*. It is sufficient to point out that the Hebrew word for Truth comes from a root signifying strength—that which could not be moved. The letters of the word are equivalent to the mysterious number nine. When multiplied that figure invariably gives figures so true to each other that when added together they again prove the figure nine: thus twice nine are eighteen, thrice nine are twenty-seven, and so on.

Among our Elizabethan sonneteers—notably Spenser and Drayton—we find a similar word playing upon the number nine.

One of the lesser known Elizabethans—Richard Smith—dedicates his sonnet sequence *Diana* "Unto Her Majesties Sacred Honourable Maids." It is obvious that it was not the Mary Fittons or the Bessie Throckmortons of the period who were in the poet's mind, for in his Dedication he leads off :—

> "Eternal Twins that conquer Death and Time
> Perpetual advocates in Heaven and Earth,
> Fair, chaste, immaculate and all divine,
> Glorious alone before the first man's birth."

Passages such as this must surely, to say the least of it, arouse some disquietude in the mind of the merely materialistic critic? It is probable that much of the poetic adulation of Queen Elizabeth was lavished with a mental reservation in favour of a less material mistress, was, in fact, religious ecstasy towards that mystic Elizabeth of whom we catch a glimpse in Spenser.

> "The third my Love, my life's last ornament,
> By whom my spirit out of dust was raised,
> To speak her praise and glory excellent
> Of all alive most worthy to be praised.
> Ye three Elizabeths for ever live
> That three such graces did unto me give."

Elizabeth, or Elsbeth, is presumably akin to Beth-el, and that as we are told, is "none other than the House of God." Some interpret the name as signifying "one who worships God." It is noteworthy that the last syllable of Titurel, the leader of the Grail Knights, was derived from his mystic mother Elizabel. Tannhaüser was redeemed by an Elizabeth. Elizabeth *Tudor* has, I feel certain, no more interest in much of the poetry assumed to have been addressed to her than she has in the New Jerusalem of

the Apocalypse. The Virgin Queen who ruled over the hearts of the poets was their Alma Mater the Spotless Artemis. The Fortunate Islands where she held sway were not Great Britain and Ireland, but that happy island in a faraway ocean which we recognise as *El Dorado* or *Utopia*, or *Arcadia*, or the *City of the Sun*, or *The New Atlantis*, or *Nova Solyma*, or *Avalon*, or *The Garden of the Sages*, or *The Land of Roses*. Here is an account of that Island translated by Cary from the seventeenth century French of Heriot de Borderie :—

> " There is an isle
> Full, as they say, of good things ;—fruits and trees
> And pleasant verdure ; a very master-piece
> Of nature's ; where the men immortally
> Live, following all delights and pleasures. There
> Is not, nor ever hath been, Winter's cold
> Or Summer's heat, the season still the same,—
> One gracious Spring, where all, e'en those worst used
> By fortune, are content. Earth willingly
> Pours out her blessing : the words " thine " and " mine "
> Are not known 'mongst them : all is common, free
> From pain and jealous grudging. *Reason rules*,
> Not fantasy : every one knows well
> What he would ask of other : every one
> What to command : thus everyone hath that
> Which he doth ask ; what is commanded, does.
> This island hath the name of Fortunate ;
> And, as they tell, is *governed by a Queen*
> Well-spoken and discreet, and therewithal
> So beautiful, that, with one single beam
> Of her great beauty, all the country round
> Is rendered shining. When she sees arrive
> (As there are many so exceeding curious
> They have no fear of danger 'fore their eyes)
> Those who come suing to her, and aspire
> After the happiness which she to each
> Doth promise in her city, she doth make

The strangers come together; and forthwith,
Ere she consenteth to retain them there,
Sends for a certain season all to sleep.
When they have slept so much as there is need,
Then wake they them again, and summon them
Into her presence. There awaits them not
Excuse or caution; speech however bland,
Or importunity of cries. Each bears
That on his forehead written visibly,
Whereof he hath been dreaming. They whose dreams
Have been of birds and hounds, are straight dismissed;
And at her royal mandate led away,
To dwell thenceforward with such beasts as these.
He who hath dreamed of sconces broken, war,
And turmoil, and sedition, glory won,
And highest feats achieved, is, in like guise,
An exile from her court; whilst one whose brow
Is pale, and dead, and withered, showing care
Of pelf and riches, she no less denies
To be his queen and mistress. None, in brief,
Reserves she of the dreamers in her isle,
Save him, that, when awakened he returns,
Betrayeth tokens that of her rare beauty
His dreams have been. So great delight hath she
In being and in seeming beautiful,
Such dreamer is right welcome to her isle.

All this is held a fable: but who first
Made and recited it hath, in this fable,
Shadowed a Truth."

To return to our woodblocks. In Fig. 349 two birds may be seen pecking at fruit. These are evidently the Alchemist's "Doves of Diana." What was implied by the phrase I do not know, but the emblem was extremely popular. The "Peace and Plenty" inscribed on Fig. 313 may possibly have been its meaning. Flowers and foliage all have their special significations, but it is unnecessary to go

into them in detail. The plant that looks like a Love Lies Bleeding, is the fabulous amaranth of the poets, and

Fig. 352.—Tailpiece.
Paris, 1718.

Fig. 353.—Tailpiece.
London, 1716.

Fig. 354.—Tailpiece.
London, 1716.

Fig. 355.—Tailpiece.
London, 1727.

was the emblem of immortality. "Three kinds of most beautiful flowers," says one of the Alchemists, "are to be sought and may be found in the Garden of the Wise: damask coloured violets [Love?], the milk white Lily [purity?], and the immortal amaranthus. Not far from the fountain at the entrance, fresh Violets do first salute three which being watered by streams from the great golden river, put on the most delicate colour of the dark sapphire; the Sun will give thee signs. Thou must not sever such precious flowers from their root until thou makest the Stone; but the fresh ones cropped off have more juice and tincture; and then pick them carefully with a gentle and discreet hand; if fates frown not, they will easily follow, and one flower being plucked, the other golden one will not be

wanting. Let the Lily and the Amaranth succeed with greater care and labour."

Fig. 356.—Tailpiece. Paris, 17th century.

The birds of paradise in Figs. 357, 324 and 325 are probably like the peacock, emblems of the Holy Spirit. This then newly-discovered bird was alleged by travellers to

Fig. 357.—Headpiece. London, 1683.

have no legs, but to live perpetually in the air *feeding upon dew*.

The dolphin was the Arms of the Province of

FIG. 358.—Headpiece. Geneva, 1646.

FIG. 359.—Headpiece. London, 1661.

FIG. 360.—Headpiece. London, 1634.

Fig. 361.—Headpiece. London, 1609.

Fig. 362.—Headpiece. Geneva, 1665.

Dauphiny where there were more Waldenses gathered than in the whole of Europe elsewhere. The origin of the emblem I do not know. Combined with an anchor it denoted Make Haste Slowly, but this emblem is also said to denote a seaport or the sea. I surmise that what it originally denoted was the *spiritual* sea—*i.e.* the all-cleansing and infinite Spirit.

Hanging inconspicuously in the centres of Figs. 358 to 362 will be observed a bunch of Fish. In his *Clef de la Comedie Anticatholique de Dante Alighieri*, Aroux states that Fish were regarded as "a celestial sign, symbolic of the profound discretion recommended in the Mysteries." The real work of the world has almost invariably been accomplished by non-advertising men. "To the silent He sendeth his Angels to hold speech with them, but the babblers He driveth into the wilderness."

The serpent by reason of sloughing its skin, was regarded as the emblem of regeneration. It was also the symbol of Healing and of Immortality. It encircles the image of most of the ancient sanitary and hygienic gods, and in the Egyptian Mysteries the cup of Health was entwined by Serpents. Observe how in Fig. 363 the symbol is twisted into a double S, and how in Fig. 365 the artist has introduced a third S so as to form the acclamations Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus, in both cases associating the Holy Spirit with its *healing* influence. Fig. 363 forms a veritable treatise in Philosophy. Note the lamps of traditional knowledge, the crab and butterfly, the amaranth, the dolphin, the olive branches, and the two pillars of Will and Understanding.

The two cherubs I do not understand; they are perhaps the Eternal Twins to which Richard Smith refers.

The figure in the centre is obviously Philosophy. "Awake, my harp," says the psalmist, and the stringed instrument

Fig. 363.—Headpiece. London, 1649.

upon which Philosophy is playing is evidently the human soul.

The Theorbos on the left and right had the same meaning, *vide* Francis Quarles, who writes in *Emblems Divine and Moral*:—

> "Rouse thee, my soul, and drain thee from the dregs
> Of vulgar thoughts; screw up the heightened pegs
> Of thy sublime Theorbo four notes higher,
> And high'r yet, that so the shrill-mouth'd choir
> Of swift-winged seraphims may come and join,
> And make the concert more than half divine."

The two figures playing upon the Theorbos probably denote Poesy and Music, those two handmaidens by whose help Philosophy "may more sweetly insinuate itself."

"The Philosopher," says Philip Sidney, "teacheth, but he teacheth obscurely, so as the learned only can understand him; that is to say he teacheth them that are already taught. But the poet is the food for the tenderest stomach; the poet is indeed the right popular philosopher . . . He beginneth not with obscure definitions

which must blur the margin with interpretations and load the memory with doubtfulness, but he cometh to you with

Fig. 364.—Initial. London, 17th century.

words set in delightful proportion either accompanied with or prepared for the well enchanting skill of Music; and with a tale, forsooth, he cometh unto you with a tale which holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney corner, and pretending no more doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue; even as the child is often brought to like most wholesome things by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant taste."

After deploring the poor esteem in which Poetry was held by his contemporaries, Sidney continues: "They that with quiet judgments, will look a little deeper into it, shall find the end and working of it such as being rightly applied deserveth not to be scourged out of the Church of God."

Now the Church of the Holy Spirit did not scourge out Poesy; on the contrary, Poesy and Song were main methods by which it worked. The Troubadours—and we must include among these the Trouvères, the Minnesingers, the Skalds, and the various other forms that the calling

assumed in the different parts of Europe—were the greatest swayers of men's minds the world has ever seen. As the Troubadours died out, the stage gradually assumed their functions: the actors and dramatists of the seventeenth century were the inheritors of the Jester traditions of the earlier period. Motley comments upon the enormous influence exercised by the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century dramatic associations known as Guilds of Rhetoric. Those popular clubs for the manufacture of poetry and the drama, shared with the pulpit the only power which then existed of moving the passions or directing the opinions of the people. They were, says Motley, eminently liberal in their tendencies. The authors and actors were mostly artisans and tradesmen "belonging to the class out of which proceeded the early victims (of the Inquisition) and the later soldiers of the Reformation." Their bold farces and truculent satires were influential in spreading among the people a detestation of Ecclesiastical abuses. Every effort was made to suppress these "perambulating dramas," but without success. "There was at that time," wrote a correspondent of Sir Thomas Gresham, "syche playes (of Reteryke) played that hath cost many a 1,000 men's lyves, for in these playes was the Word of God first opened in thys country. Weche playes were and are forbidden moche more strictly than any of the bookes of Martin Luther." At times the Rhetoricians were employed as mouthpieces by greater minds. We find Philip of Spain being notified that a particularly biting satire came from the pen of one Renard "although for the sake of deception the Rhetoric comedian had been employed."

The anonymous author of *The Arte of English Poesy* (Puttenham?) observes that theatres were built in the form

of a musical bow thus ⌒ the auditorium answering to the wood, and the stage to the catgut. Speaking of the theatre, Bacon says that it was carefully watched by the ancients that it might improve mankind in virtue; "indeed," he adds, "*many wise men have thought it to the mind as the bow to the fiddle.*"

It is therefore, I think, reasonable to assume that the means by which Philosophy, Poesy and Music are in Fig. 363 drawing melody from men's souls, and playing upon the human mind, is the poetic drama of which the true authorship has formed so fertile a field of inquiry. Shakespeare himself was the greatest of the world's Troubadours. "Invest me in my motley," says he. "Give me leave, and I will through and through cleanse the foul body of the infected world."

"In serious jest and jesting seriousness," says Marston, "I strive to scourge polluting beastliness."

"There has been more by us in some one play laughed into wit and virtue," says the author of *The Muses' Looking Glass*, "than hath been by twenty tedious lectures," a sentiment endorsed by Massinger, who claims that:—

> "Actors may put in for as large a share
> As all the sects of the philosophers.
> They with cold precepts, perhaps seldom read
> Deliver what an honourable thing
> The Active virtue is. But does that fire
> The blood, or swell the veins with emulation
> To be both good and great, equal to that
> Which is presented on our theatres?"

Geo. Peele utters the aspiration:—

> "Then help Divine Adonai to conduct
> Upon the wings of my well-tempered verse
> The hearers' minds above the towers of Heaven."

Massinger in truly Albigensian vein writes: "Prosper thou Great Existence my endeavours as they *religiously* are undertaken and distant equally from servile gain."

I have analysed elsewhere the Elizabethan Drama and its educational purpose.[1] It is instructive to note that in many cases the same pious book ornaments were used on playbooks as on the Holy Bible, no distinction being maintained between works sacred or profane.[2] Fig. 281, for instance, may be seen in the first folio of Ben Jonson's *Works*, and the doxology *Deo Optimo Maximo* is to be found at the end of Marston's plays.

The Goats seen in Fig. 365 were the emblems of Tragedy, a word derived from the goat skins worn by actors. "High and excellent Tragedy," says Sidney, "openeth the greatest wounds and sheweth forth the ulcers that are covered with tissue." It "maketh Kings fear to be tyrants and tyrants to manifest their tyrannical humours." He continues: "I conjure you all that have had the evil luck to read this ink-wasting toy of mine, even in the name of the Nine Muses, no more to scorn the sacred mysteries of poesy; no more to laugh at the name of poets, as though *they were next inheritors to fools*: no more to jest at the reverend title of 'a rhymer'; but to believe, with Aristotle, that they were the ancient treasurers of the Grecian's divinity; to believe, with Bembus, that

[1] *The Shakespeare Symphony*, Chapman and Hall, Ltd.

[2] Herein they anticipated Mr Harold Begbie's recent proposition that there is no such thing as secular education: "A man who has found joy in learning knows that every good book is religious, and would not exclude from the Infinity of his Maker a theory of Euclid or a page in Biology. He knows that learning has an altar; every fresh fact he gathers to his brain is a swelling chord in the canticle of his soul's pleasure; and every advance he makes in knowledge is a nearer approach to the Holy of Holies; his religion is Truth and his ritual is research. He uses learning as an avenue of approach to the God of Truth."

they were the first bringers in of all civility; to believe, with Scaliger, that no philosopher's precepts can sooner make an honest man than the reading of Virgil; to believe, with Clauserus, the translator of Cornutus, that it pleased the heavenly deity by Hesiod and Homer, under the veil of fables, to give us all knowledge, logic, rhetoric, philosophy natural and moral, and 'quid non?'—to believe, with me, that there are many mysteries contained in poetry which of purpose were written darkly, lest by profane wits it should be abused."

Fig. 365.—Tailpiece. Geneva, 1628.

CHAPTER XI

TRICKS OF OBSCURITY

THERE remains for consideration a further form of printer's ornament known technically as "flowers." These diminutive designs were frequently set up in rows at the commencement of a new chapter, section or division. In 1771 a standard writer on the art of printing deplored that even then "flowers" were falling into disuse, owing to workmen being insufficiently paid for their "painful application."

When we examine the early specimens of printers' flowers, it is evident they are as pregnant with interest as are watermarks and woodblocks.

One of the most ancient "flower" ornaments is the acorn as shown in Fig. 369. This form is so admirable as a design that it is still in frequent use by modern printers. We have already seen that the acorn was employed as a watermark (p. 83), and the suggestion has been offered that it symbolised slow growing strength. We have also seen that the early printers were persistent and indomitable sowers. They went forth mourning and carrying their precious seed, leaving their sheaves as a heritage to the future. "It is enough for me," said a typical philosopher, "that I have sowen unto posterity, and the Immortal God." Some idea of the amount of sowing that took place may be formed by the knowledge that within less than

fifty years from its invention, 40,000 works in editions of 500 copies, or nearly 20,000,000 volumes, were scattered from the printing press.

Speaking of the rise of printing, Motley observes that at the very epoch when tyranny was most swiftly ripening

Fig. 366.—Device. Basle, 1738.

a weapon was secretly being forged more potent in the great struggle for freedom than any that the wit or hand of man had ever devised or wielded. "The contest," he continues, "was at first favourable to the cause of arbitrary power; but little seeds were silently germinating, which in the progress of their development were one day to undermine the foundations of Tyranny, and to overshadow the world."

Fig. 367.—Cambridge, 1720.

Fig. 368.—Cambridge, 1720.

The early printers were quick to foresee this momentous issue of their art, and it is therefore not due

to chance that we find the acorn, that silent and slowly germinating little seed, scattered all over their pages. They

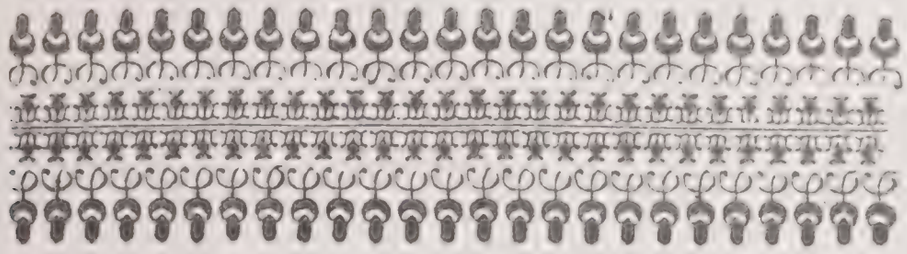


Fig. 369.—London, 1617.

Fig. 370.—London, 1656.

Fig. 371.—London, 1656.

were strewers of sweetness and *Light*, and almost as frequent as the acorn is the fleur-de-lys, the emblem of light, the light flower, the flower de luce, the oriflamme, the golden flame.

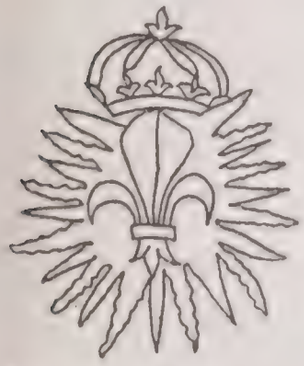


Fig 372.—Papermark. 17th century.

Fig. 373.—Paris, 1647.

Fig. 374.—London, 1644.

Figs. 375 to 383 represent different forms of St. Grail, from which will be seen springing sometimes the fleur-de-lys, sometimes the golden flame, sometimes the Lily of purity, and sometimes the rose.

The ultimate Holy Vessel is, as we have said, the purified heart of man, and if Figs. 380 and 383 be examined under a magnifier, it will be seen that the bodies of the

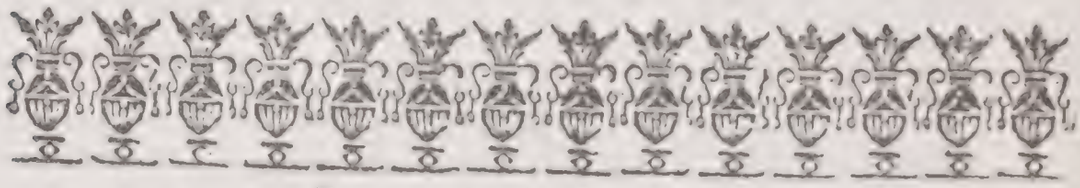


Fig. 375.—London, 17th century.

Fig. 376.—London, 1655.

Fig. 377.—London, 1709.

Fig. 378 —London, 1709.

Fig. 379.—London, 1709.

vases are in reality small hearts. It will also be seen that hearts (sometimes flaming with the love of charity) form the centres to Figs. 369, 393 and 394a. In Fig. 384 they appear as a tailpiece. The forms of old printers' "flowers" are so many and diverse, that it is impossible to do justice

to them within the short limits of a chapter. I therefore reproduce no more than a few representative examples.

Fig. 380.—Oxford, 1641.

Fig. 381.—*Ibid.* (enlarged to *twice* its natural size).

Fig. 382.—London, 1674.

Fig. 383.—London, 1711.

Fig. 384.—Tailpiece.
London, 1719.

Fig. 385.—Composite "Flower" Tailpiece.
Paris, 1769.

The S. S. of the *Sanctus Spiritus* will be seen on most of the St. Grails in the form of handles. It also occurs alone, as in Fig. 386.

In Fig. 387 we have the "vines of Engadi"; in Fig. 389 the trefoil, in Fig. 390 angel amoretti, and in Fig. 391 the

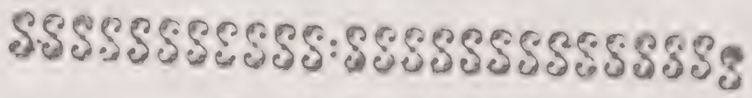


Fig. 386.—Paris, 1723.

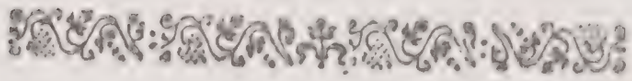


Fig. 387.—Paris, 1680.

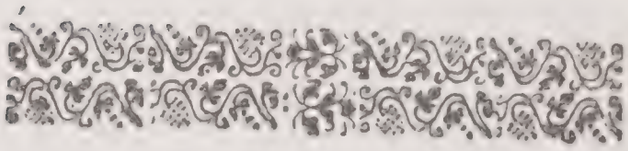


Fig. 388.—Paris, 1680.

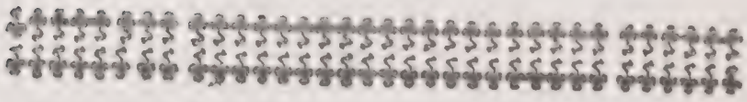


Fig. 389.—London, 1723.

Fig. 390.—Paris, 1721.

Fig. 390A.—Paris, 1717.

Fig. 391.—Paris, 1745.

Fig. 392.—London, 1726.

flaming sun. In Fig. 392 we have a row of churches (the Church of the Holy Grail?), and in Fig. 393 a design which looks as though it might represent the three Mounts,

a favourite emblem among the papermakers. It is probable that many of these complicated flowers were something more than purposeless designs, but I am unwilling to weaken the case by putting forward mere speculations.

In many of these flower illustrations will be observed curious irregularities. The technical law of printers' flowers

Fig. 393.—London, 1658.

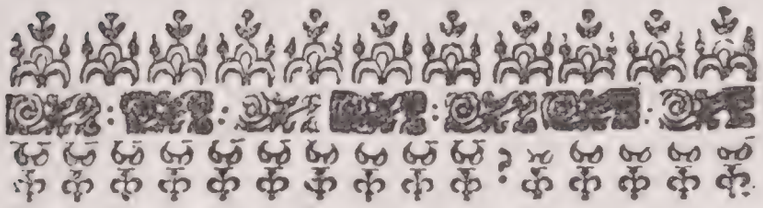


Fig. 394.—London, 1658.

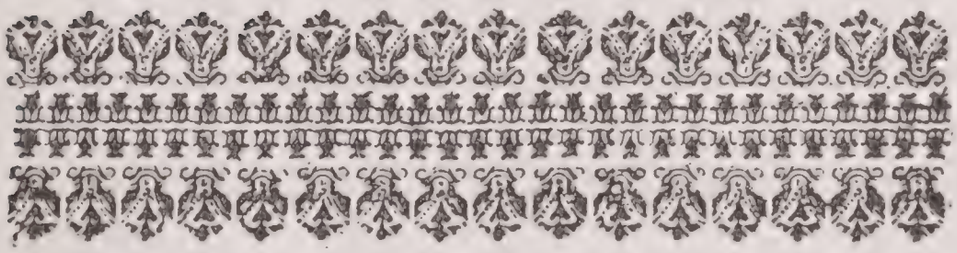
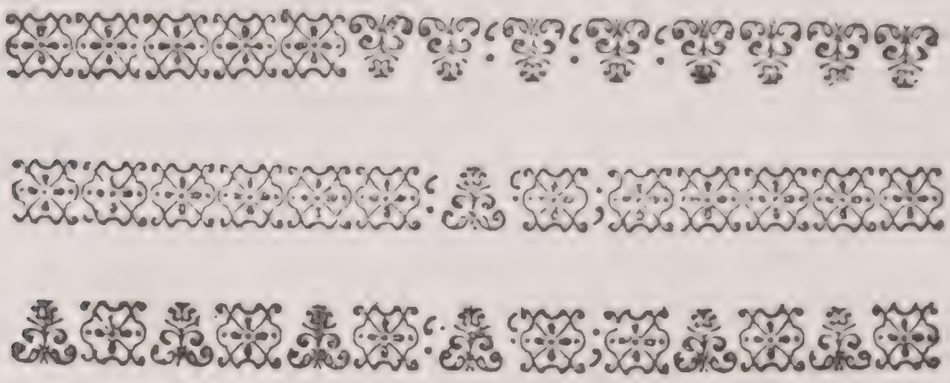


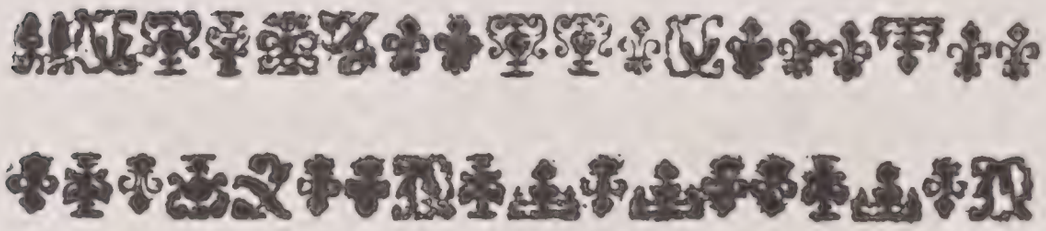
Fig. 394a.—London, 1658.

is that they shall be *regular*. Luckombe writes: "The use of flowers is not confined to ornaments over head pages only, but they serve also, *each sort by itself*, upon several other occasions." He goes on to say, "Flowers being cast to the usual bodies of letters their size should be proportionable to the face of the characters: since it would be as wrong to use great primer flowers with long primer letters, as it is improper to embolden the look of great primer by

long primer flowers." In my illustrations it will be observed that almost every law of regularity has been

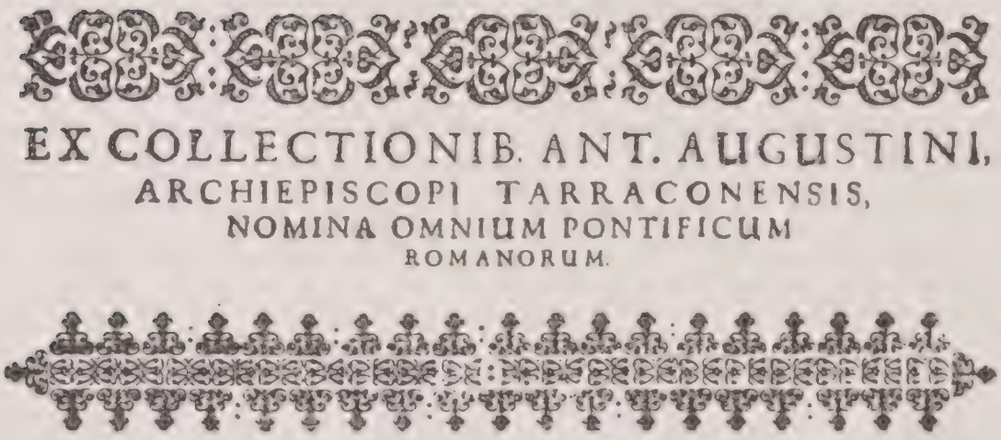


FIGS. 395, 396, and 397.—London, 1721.



FIGS. 398 and 399.—London (?), 17th century.

FIG. 400.—Paris, 1687.



FIGS. 401 and 402.—Cologne, 1682.

outraged. Note how upright bars and stops of various kinds have been interpolated; observe how here and there

flowers are inserted upside down, or endways. In Fig. 405 they are seen wandering perpendicularly up the side of a

Fig. 403.—London, 1705.

Fig. 404.—London, 1721.

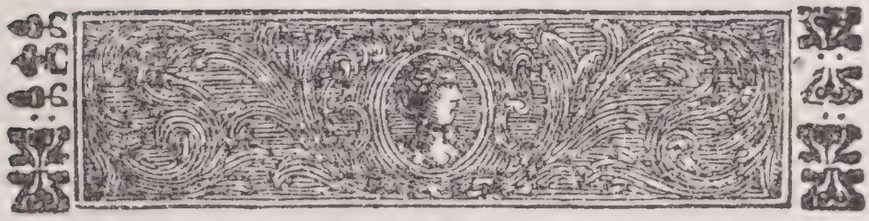


Fig. 405.—Headpiece. London, 1716.

Fig. 406.—Tailpiece. Paris, 1692.

woodblock, and in Fig. 406 a flower and four colons have been inserted into a hollow space in the centre of a tailpiece.

The obvious and superficial explanation to these various

peculiarities is "carelessness," but I can realise the contemptuous and grim smile with which the shades of certain old printers would greet this suggestion. "It would," says Luckombe, "be generous in gentlemen to examine the circumstances that may have occasioned an error before they pronounce it a typographical one."

Frankly, I do not believe these flower irregularities are due in any respect to errors, but that, on the contrary, they are indications of, and clues to, secret matter concealed in the text by various systems of cipher. In some cases "flowers" probably constitute a cipher in themselves. Figs. 395, 396, and 397, which are typical of forty or fifty rows from the same volume, are too conspicuously different to be due to printers' errors. Figs. 368 and 369 are from a magnificent work in three volumes printed in 1720 at the University Press of Cambridge. The present representatives of this body would, I am convinced, repudiate with contempt the suggestion that their predecessors ran short of type, and therefore interpolated notes of interrogation. The early printers were proverbially very painstaking. They frequently stopped the machining of a work in order to correct typographical errors. The artistic probity of Plantin impelled him to submit the proofs of his books to strangers with the offer of a reward for errors indicated, and the Etiennes adopted the same system. Yet notwithstanding this traditional carefulness, one is puzzled at the frequent appearance of what is at first sight the most palpable carelessness; such, for example, as mispagination, mixture of types, woodblocks printed upside down, and inexplicable italicisation of unimportant words and phrases.

The suggestion that these varied peculiarities are evidence not of slovenliness or paucity of type, but that early printed

books were largely employed as vehicles for cipher, is not so fanciful as to many it may at first appear. The early printers were not only themselves learned, but they surrounded themselves with men whose minds shone out like stars in comparison with the surrounding darkness. Among this school cipher writing was regarded as a fine art. Few realise what an extraordinary mass of Cipher literature arose in the sixteenth century. Those who are interested in the archælogical side of the subject may refer to the writings of Palatino (1540), Bellaso (1553), or Glanburg (1560). The unjaded appetite may next enjoy a short course of Porta, Trithemius, Cardanus, Walchius, Bibliander, Schottus, Selenus, Hugo, Niveron, Caspi, Tridenci, Comiers, La Fin, Dalgarno, Buxtorff, Wolfgang and Falconer. Even then it is open to the curious to browse upon Eidel, Soro, Amman, Breitkampt, Conradus, De Baines, Lucatello, Kircher, and not a few others. The extent of this literature proves that the subject interested a far wider public than the restricted circle of statesmen and diplomatists. Hitchcock expresses his conviction that among the writings of the Alchemists a vast mass of unexplored cipher literature is awaiting discovery. Gabriele Rossetti in his *Disquisitions on the Anti-Papal Spirit which produced the Reformation; its secret influence on the literature of Europe in General and of Italy in particular* (1834), is equally emphatic. "I have wandered," says he, "through the vast field of my country's literature, and have explored the many gardens which adorn it. I saw that they were redolent not only of flowers delightful to the eye, but of sweet and nutritious fruits. I discovered that treasures beyond all price were buried under the enchanted ground whereon I was treading, and I beheld

the muses there presiding over all that is most recondite in philosophy, mysterious in politics, and inaccessible in mystic theology."

"How often and perseveringly," he continues, "has the midnight lamp been trimmed by the learned inquirer in his eagerness to decipher and explain the hieroglyphics of the Egyptian School! . . . Under our own eyes lie monuments of hieroglyphic figures, not less valuable because entire, but passed coldly by, unprized because unknown. Were they but rightly interpreted, we should behold a new world rising before us, a world containing things not belonging to men of other manners or other climes, but to ourselves; things most important and useful, which would reveal to us the undiscovered causes of many a great effect, and assure us of the truth of the following arguments":—

"The greater number of those literary productions which we have hitherto been in the habit of considering in the light of amusing trifles, or amatory rhymes, or as wild visions of the romantic, or heavy treatises by the dull scholar, are in reality works which enclose recondite doctrines and secret rites, an inheritance bequeathed by remote ages; and, what may to many appear mere fantastic fables, are a series of historical facts expressed in ciphers which preserve the remembrance of the secret actions of our fathers."

"The obscurity which not unfrequently involves these works was studiously and purposely contrived; and if it have never yet been cleared away (and Dante's *Commedia* is the first proof of this) no blame should be attributed to those who might have dispersed it: the difficulties of the time, and the dangers which encompassed them, were sufficient to deter them from so doing. The most learned

men and authors of various ages and countries were pupils of this mysterious school, and never losing sight of their one grand object, they were constantly on the alert to bring persons of talent and genius to their way of thinking, and to render them co-operators in their bold projects. There can be no doubt that the present state of civilisation in Europe is in a great measure an effect of this school . . . which worked to free mankind from the tyranny of priesthood as well as from monarchical despotism."

If, as is strongly to be suspected, the flower irregularities indicated are indeed outward and visible signs of inward invisible ciphers, it would prove that the mediæval sages followed the ancient precedent of Pythagoras. We are told that when the disciples of this philosopher were capable of receiving his secret instructions, they were taught the use of ciphers and hieroglyphic writing; that they could correspond with each other from the most distant regions in unknown characters; and that by signs and words which they had received they could discover those who had been educated in the Pythagorean school.

It is practically a certainty that some similar system existed among the scattered and persecuted Albigenses. It is known that Adam Weishaupt (1748-1834), the founder of a sect of Illuminati who set themselves "to combat ignorance, superstition and tyranny," adopted a numerical cipher. Weishaupt's cipher was obviously an adaptation of the Kabbalistic system of *Gemantria*, whereby numbers represented letters and words, and by means of which abstruse problems were promulgated.

But I am convinced that the philosophers in their employment of cipher were actuated by a motive deeper

than the convenience of being able to echo to one another from their cells. "What road," asks Paracelsus, "should the philosophers follow?" and he answers: "That exactly which was followed by the great Architect of the Universe in the creation of the world."

"We neither dedicate nor raise a capitol or pyramid to the pride of man," says the author of the *Novum Organum*, "but rear a holy Temple in his mind on the model of the Universe, *which model, therefore, we imitate.*" The *Instauratio Magna* is divided into six partitions corresponding to the six days of creation. It was, I am persuaded, the aim of the sages to "woorke as God woorkes," and their publications were as far as possible modelled upon their favourite simile the Book of Nature.

Robert Boyle, one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, comments upon the fact that "the Book of Nature is to an ordinary gazer and a naturalist like a rare book of hieroglyphics to a child and a philosopher. The one is sufficiently pleased with the oddness and variety of the curious pictures that adorn it, whereas the other is not only delighted with those outward objects, that gratifie his sense, but receives a much higher satisfaction in admiring the knowledge of the author, and in finding out and enriching himself with those abstruse and veiled truths dexterously hinted in them."

The time is, I trust, coming when bibliographers will tire of being sufficiently pleased with the odd "trade-marks" to be found in old volumes, and will pursue those dexterously veiled hieroglyphics to their truer issues.

"A booke," says an unknown writer, "is an unwrought lump of metall. You see not th' rich shine of it beneath sundry thin coats that obscure it." Just as the

Book of God contains within its protecting shell a kernel of more spiritual truth, so, I think it will be found, do many of the productions of the Albigensian philosophers.

It will be remembered that a favourite motto was "Many shall run to and fro and knowledge shall be increased." The complete verse from Daniel (chap. xii., v. 4) runs: "But thou, O Daniel, *shut up the words*, and seal the book even to the time of the end. Many shall run," etc. It is possible that we have here a mystical motive for concealing or closing up words by a system of ciphers.

Whether or not coherent sentences lie concealed, it cannot be questioned that words and names were frequently buried under the protective veils of anagrams, etc. To the modern mind anagrams are savourless, but for many centuries they were deemed to be intellectual salt, and were sometimes regarded with a mystic veneration. "Notwithstanding the *sour sort* of critics," says Camden in his *Remaines Concerning Britaine*, "good anagrams yield a delightful comfort and pleasant motion in honest minds." How high a place anagrams held in men's estimation may be measured by the fact that Louis XIII. appointed *a Provençal* to be his royal anagrammatist, and granted him a salary of 12,000 livres.

Not only was anagrammatising an essential Provençal art, but it was one of the branches of the Kabbalah known as *Themura*. Roger Bacon published the constituents of gunpowder under the veil of an anagram, and in a similar manner Galileo announced his discovery that Venus had phases like the moon. The reputed author "James Hasolle" is found on scrutiny to resolve into "Elias Ashmole"—"the greatest virtuoso and curioso that was ever known or read of in England before his time."

The three first editions of Camden's *Remaines* were published anonymously, yet the learned author secreted his name within them under the phrases *Dum illa evincam* and *Nil malum cui Dea*, both of which mottoes will be found to be perfect anagrams of "*VVilliam Camden.*"

"The Glory of God," says Bacon, "is to conceal a thing, but the glory of the king is to find it out; as if according to the innocent play of children, the Divine Majesty took delight to hide his works to the end to have them found out; and as if kings could not obtain a greater honour than to be God's playfellow in that game."

It is a fascinating study to watch these intellectual giants at play.

CHAPTER XII

THE RENAISSANCE

OF past literary phases, one which the modern mind is least able to comprehend, is the obscurity and cautiousness of mediæval authors. Everywhere more or less do we find the inculcation of what superficially appears to be mere selfish reticence. Especially was this conspicuous among the Alchemistical Philosophers.

> "Be thou in a place secret, by thyself alone
> That no man see or hear what thou shalt say or done,
> Trust not thy friend too much wheresoe'er thou go
> For he thou trustest best sometyme may be thy foe."

Norton cautions the reader to let no one know of his undertakings but his good angel and himself.

> "When man disputed *of colours of the rose.*
> He would not speak, but kept himself full close."

In order that one may better appreciate the perils surrounding the colours of the rose (*i.e.* the various shades of heretical opinion?) it is desirable here to set down a brief abstract of the conditions amid which the sages worked. There were no inducements to publish knowledge: on the contrary, excellent reasons against doing so.

It is not within my scope to discuss the horrors of religious persecution except so far as they affect the suppression of learning. Unhappily, it has ever been those who have laboured most zealously to instruct humanity that

have most suffered from its brutishness. The thirteenth century crusade against the Albigenses though nominally directed against Heresy, was in effect an effort on the part of Bigotry to stamp out a civilisation that it neither understood nor tolerated. De Montfort and the rabble by which the Romish Church accomplished its design, were absolved from sins from the time of their baptism to the present. They were also absolved from the payment of all debts even though they had sworn to pay them.

Happily, it is difficult for us moderns to realise the conditions of mediæval existence. The official Church was a source whence flowed not truth and purity, but a steady stream of corruption. Of this the evidence is to be found not in the invectives of her enemies, but among the writings of her most gifted sons. Gerson himself declares "The Court of Rome has invented a thousand Church services to make money, but few indeed have been made for the sake of virtue only. We hear much from morning to night in that Court of armies and lands and towns and money, but we seldom or never hear of chastity, justice, fidelity and morality; so that that court which was formerly spiritual, has now become worldly, devilish, tyrannical and worse than any secular one."

Men beheld criminal wars carried on by means of unblushing simony. It was taught that an error in doctrine was more offensive to God than a crime. The blatant impudence of the traffic in absolutions exceeds belief. Every crime "even to the rape of God's mother if that were possible" had its authorised tariff payable at Rome. Thus poisoning was absolved for eleven ducats and six livres tournois. Incest was priced at thirty-six livres and three ducats. Perjury at seven livres, three carlines. Murder (if

not by poison) was less expensive. For one ducat, four livres, eight carlines a son might purchase the privilege of parricide, and so through the whole calendar of crimes.

Outside the pale of this so-called "Church" was certain and eternal damnation. For centuries the axiom *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus* was the source of unutterable woe to humanity. The custodians of Christianity unhesitatingly burnt their fellow-men in the persuasion that better a few temporal pangs than the eternal anguish of Hell fire. The end justified the means, and no means howsoever appalling were neglected that might force back into the fold the misguided members of those "new, reprobate and damnable sects" which proceeding from their father the foul fiend had spread like a leprosy over the face of Europe.

Among the first and last victims of the Inquisition were those "accursed vermin" the Albigenses. The Bull of Pope Innocent VIII., granted in 1487 for the extirpation of the Waldenses, exhibits no solicitude for the heretic, but rather a fear lest the true believer should be smutted by contact. The inquisitor "no doubt endued with learning and fervent zeal for the salvation of souls" is enjoined to exterminate and disperse "certain sons of iniquity, followers of that abominable and pernicious sect of malignant men who are called the poor people of Lyons or the Waldenses." He is to tread these venomous adders under foot, all their moveable and unmoveable goods may be lawfully seized and given away by anybody whatsoever, and those who assist in the pious work are granted plenary indulgence and remission of all sins.

The Inquisition's roll of victims will, of course, never be accurately gauged. In the brief eighteen years of Torquemada's administration 10,220 individuals were

burned alive, and 97,321 punished with infamy, confiscation of property or perpetual imprisonment. What was implied by infamy may be gathered from the following formula—a priestly anathema held ever in readiness to blast the troublesome and perverse: "In the name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, the blessed Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, and all other Saints in Heaven, do we curse and cut off from our Communion him who has thus rebelled against us. May the curse strike him in his house, barn, bed, field, path, city, castle. May he be cursed in battle, accursed in praying, in speaking, in silence, in eating, in drinking, in sleeping. May he be accursed in his taste, hearing, smell, and all his senses. May the curse blast his eyes, head, and his body, from his crown to the souls of his feet. I conjure you, Devil, and all your imps, that you take no rest till you have brought him to eternal shame; till he is destroyed by drowning or hanging, till he is torn to pieces by wild beasts, or consumed by fire. Let his children become orphans, his wife a widow. I command you, Devil, and all your imps, that even as I now blow out these torches, you do immediately extinguish the light of his eyes. So be it—so be it; Amen. Amen."

The records of the Dark Ages are grim, but those of modern Europe run them close. In 1561 occurred the butchery of St Bartholomew's Eve. "I agree to the scheme," cried Charles IX., provided not one Huguenot be left alive in France to reproach me with the deed." The news of the portentous crime was received at Rome with a joy beyond description. A medal was struck to commemorate the event, and the Pope accompanied by his Cardinals rendered a solemn *Te Deum* for this crowning mercy vouchsafed to the Church.

But the aspirations of Rome were still unsatisfied. In 1568 the Holy Office condemned every man, woman, and child of the heretical Netherlands to the scaffold. From this universal doom involving three millions of innocent and industrious people only a few persons specially named were exempt. "The sooner these noxious plants are extirpated from the earth," wrote Philip II., "the less fear there is that a fresh crop will spring up." "I desire," he continued, in his instructions to Alva, "that if you have not already disembarrassed the world of them you will do it immediately, and inform me thereof, for I see no reason why it should be delayed."

The efforts made by Roman Catholicism to disembarrass the world of its most intellectual and industrious citizens, would be inconceivable were they not indubitably attested. The storms burst with traditional violence upon the Waldenses in 1655 and again in 1686. Men, women and children were massacred by methods so horrible that the foulest imagination cannot compass their reality. "If all the tyrants of all times and ages were alive again," exclaimed Cromwell's envoy to the Duke of Savoy, "certainly they would be ashamed when they should find that they had contrived nothing in comparison with these things that might be reputed barbarous and inhuman. In the meantime the angels are surprised with horror, men are amazed, Heaven itself seems to be astonished with the cries of dying men, and the very earth to blush with the gore blood of so many innocent persons."

In 1815 Dr Gilly, an English traveller, visited the Waldensian valleys which for upwards of 700 years had been haunted by the terrors of persecution. He narrates an interesting conversation with an aged Waldensian

pastor. "Remember," said this old man with conscious and becoming pride, "remember that you are indebted to us for your emancipation from Papal thraldom. We led the way. We stood in the front rank and against us the first thunderbolts of Rome were fulminated. The baying of the bloodhounds of the Inquisition was heard in our valleys before you knew its name. They hunted down some of our ancestors and pursued others from glen to glen and over rock and mountain, till they obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries."

Inns were forbidden to receive heretical guests. It was illegal for schools to admit children, almshouses paupers, and graveyards dead bodies unless furnished with satisfactory proofs of orthodoxy. Births, deaths, and marriages could only occur with validity under the ægis of the Catholic Church. As far as Ecclesiasticism could exclude him the heretic was outside the pale of humanity.

The Inquisition was defined by the biographer of that baneful monarch Philip II. as a "heavenly remedy, a guardian angel of Paradise, a lion's den in which Daniel and other just men could sustain no injury, but in which perverse sinners were torn to pieces." In reality it was the most demoniacal engine ever evolved from Hell. It taught the natives of South America to shudder at the name of Christianity. The fear of it froze the greater part of Europe into a seeming orthodoxy. It was an organisation whose acts were above all law or question. Its methods were reduced to a horrible simplicity—arrest on suspicion, torture, death. It condemned not deeds but thoughts. Its spies and familiars lurked unsuspected, and its tentacles extended into every man's household. The merest straws were construed into crimes; on the word of some ignoble

informer suspects were at any moment liable to be dragged from their homes and hurried without trial into the maw of the Holy office, whence they rarely emerged.

But the aspect of persecution that mainly concerns us, is Authority's attitude towards Knowledge. The monks were inveterate destroyers of books. They were indefatigable in erasing the works of ancient authors in order to transcribe upon the obliterated vellum their own fabulous productions. Pope Gregory VII. burnt the priceless library of the Palatine Apollo in order that the attention of the clergy might be confined to the Holy Scriptures. In 1569 12,000 copies of the *Talmud* were burnt publicly at Cremona. Cornelius Agrippa was compelled to fly, merely for having displayed a few elementary philosophical experiments. He was regarded as an object of such horror that the people fled, leaving the streets empty at his approach.

The writings of Roger Bacon were so effectually suppressed by his superiors that they were not printed until 1733. Poesy was held to be the inspiration of the devil. One of the Dominicans was notorious for persecuting all verse makers whose powers he attributed to heresy and magic.

Whatever may have been the original excellences of the Romish system, it is undeniable that at the period immediately prior to the Reformation it had become a base and merciless tyranny over the conscience and freedom of Europe. The clergy were men of fierce passions and low instincts. They were justly regarded as fanatical obscurantists whose energies were devoted not to the advancement of morality and learning, but to the perpetuation of a benighted ignorance and an almost inconceivable bigotry. At their hands Philosophy and Theology had

become degraded and brutalised to a degree almost impossible to credit.

The sledge hammer of Luther, notwithstanding that it nearly caused the disintegration of the Romish Church, brought, as we have seen, little if any relief to the claims of philosophy. The human mind knows nothing of sudden changes or violent jumps and the conditions of modern Europe differed little from those of the Dark Ages. Whatever may have been the points of discord between Lutherism and Rome, both parties were united in their persecution of philosophy. The Jesuits sent to proscribe Lutherism from Bohemia, converted that flourishing kingdom into a desert. They struck one fatal blow by condemning and destroying the entire national literature. Similarly on the other hand, we find our English Puritans making great bonfires of everything Popish, and piously glorying in their depredations. The Reformation, therefore, did little to free thought and *odium theologicum* remained an ever present incubus.

Francis I. signed Letters Patent for the suppression of printing. In 1624 an edict was promulgated in Paris which forbade any attack on the System of Aristotle under pain of death. The philosopher Ramus, for traversing some of Aristotle's dicta, was cited as an enemy of religion, a disturber of the public peace, and a corruptor of the minds of youth.

Copernicus (1473-1543) waited thirty years before he dared make public his discovery that the sun was the centre of our universe. Happily he died a few hours after the publication of his book, hence this "upstart astrologer," this "fool who wishes to reverse the entire science of astronomy"—these were Luther's terms—escaped the deathly clutch of the Inquisition. For espousing the

heresy of Copernicus, Giordano Bruno was burned in 1600. On hearing his doom, he uttered the memorable words, "You have greater fear in pronouncing this sentence than I have in receiving it." Vanini (1585-1619) on being led forth from his prison to the hurdle for execution exclaimed: "Let us go, let us go joyfully to die as becomes a philosopher." Before being burned, his tongue was torn out. In the words of an unsympathising onlooker "Vanini was ordered to put forth his sacrilegious tongue for the knife. He refused: it was necessary to employ pincers to draw it forth, and when the execution's instrument seized and cut it off, never was heard a more horrible cry. One might have thought that he heard the bellowing of an ox which was being slaughtered." There is fitness in thus allowing bigotry to record in its own terms its own doings.

For declaring that the earth revolved, Galileo was martyred in 1642. "Are these then my judges?" he exclaimed, on retiring from the Inquisitors whose ignorance astonished him. The priest who perused the posthumous manuscripts of this great philosopher, destroyed such as *in his judgment* were not fit to be known to the world.

Descartes (1596-1650) was horribly persecuted in Holland. He was accused of Atheism and narrowly escaped being burned on an eminence favourably situated for observation by the Seven Provinces.

Such being the average fate of Europe's intellectual giants, what was the lot of the smaller luminaries, the nonentities of whom History takes no account? They fell like the unnumbered leaves in an autumn gale.

The efforts of Rome to disembarrass the world of its thinkers, naturally were felt most heavily by authors, printers, and booksellers. For the slightest infraction, real

or supposed, of religious or political propriety, the stationer suffered. The fate of one Bartholomew Hector—a poor glowworm whose name I am happy to recover from oblivion—was probably typical of a thousand others equally grim. Hector was a stationer and was burned for some unknown reason in 1555. He "died with admirable constancy, and edified the assistants and standers-by in such manner that he drew tears from their eyes."

The efforts of authority having failed to extinguish printing, there remained the expedient of muzzling. Clerical inquisitors were appointed at Madrid, Rome, Naples, Lisbon, and elsewhere. License to publish was refused to all works except those certified under the official Imprimatur as being innocuous. Unhappily, the ecclesiastical sages who sat in inquisition were frequently in vigorous disagreement among themselves. Some had a keener sense of heresy than others. The chief Inquisitor of the Netherlands lived to see his own writings proscribed by the Licenser at Rome, and the Inquisitor at Naples was so displeased with the Spanish Index that he maintained it had never been printed at Madrid. There was no concord among the Inquisitors, and the incrimination of one was followed by the retaliation of another. The Bishop of Saltzburg having asserted the existence of the Antipodes was declared a heretic by the Archbishop of Mentz. The books on cipher writing of Abbot Trithemius were condemned to the fire as works "full of diabolical mysteries." An ambiguous sentence, or even a word was sometimes sufficient to damn or indefinitely delay publications.

Two lists of condemned writings were compiled. The simple *Index* set forth those books that were never under any circumstances to be opened. The *Index Expurgatorius*

indicated works that might be perused after they have undergone a purification by the removal of obnoxious passages. "Expurgation" caused louder complaints than out and out prohibition, as by the omission or interpolation of passages, writers were made to say or unsay exactly what the Inquisitors wished. As Milton complained, the system "raked through the entrails of many an old good author with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb."

The ineptitudes of the Licensers were incredible. Malebranche was unable to get an approbation for his *Research after Truth*, because the Inquisitors were unable to understand it. It was eventually approved as a work on Geometry. A book on Trigonometry was condemned as heretical because the Trinity, a forbidden subject of discussion, was assumed to be included in Trigonometry. A treatise on the "Destruction of Insects" was believed to be a covert allusion to the Jesuits, and was accordingly disallowed.

Nani's *History of Venice* was permitted because it "contained *nothing against princes*." Raleigh's *History of the World* was condemned for being "too saucy in censuring the acts of Kings."

James I. proscribed Buchanan's *History*, and everyone was ordered to bring his copy "to be perusit and purgit of the offensive and extraordinare materis." In free England, literature was equally afflicted. The function of Church and State seems to have been to pounce down at every possible opportunity, and the rare chance seems to have been for a writer to escape their grip. Unseen snares lay around not only religion and politics, but almost every conceivable subject, and nothing was allowed to be

published that could by any possibility injure the interests of anybody powerful enough to retaliate. The censorious attitude of the authorities caused professional "informers" to spring into existence. The malicious activity of this class was a constant menace to authors. The simplest expressions were construed as bearing sinister meanings. "Let me but name bread," complains Nash, "and they will interpret it to be the town of Breda in the Low Countreys."

These "decipherers" as they were called, made it their trade to interpret names as disguises for great personages thereby libelled. No interpretation seems to have been too far-fetched to involve the writer in trouble. The phrase from *Piers Penniles*:—"I pray you, how might I call you?" was interpreted into a covert attack by Nash upon one of themselves whose name happened to be "Howe." Nicholas Breton did not exaggerate when he wrote:—

> "Who doth not find it by experience
> That points and commas oftentimes misread
> Endanger oft the harmless writer's head."

The punishments inflicted upon writers unable to prove their innocence were shameful in their severity. If suspects refused to confess the order ran: "You shall by authority hereof put them to torture in Bridewell, and by the extremity thereof . . . draw them to discover their knowledge." The rack and the scavenger's daughter were used for the torturing of Alexander Briant to extort confession about a secret printing press.

The dangers of authorship were so great and the rewards of literature so remote, that it is not surprising to meet with the enquiry, "who is likely to have any

courage to study? seeinge insteede of honour and preference dishonour and hindrance recompensed for a reward of learning."

To those capable of judging the state of the human species, Thought was Pain. As Sismondi says most men in France, Germany, England, and Spain who felt themselves to be endued with the capability of forming ideas "either smothered them, not to aggravate the pain of thoughts, or directed them solely in speculations the farthest from real life."

The *Advancement of Learning* brought no honour to Bacon from his own countrymen. It was cashiered as an heretical and impertinent piece, and was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum.* Bishop Goodman said that he would have written some reply to it if he "durst have printed it." It is unnecessary to give a list of English writers who suffered from the baneful effects of Government repression as such a scroll would include the names of practically all our great writers until the concluding years of the seventeenth century.

The illegality of unorthodox books continued on the Continent for many years later. Any study trenching upon the domain of dogma entailed very perilous risks.

The anatomist Vesalè was doomed to a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the expiation of his impiety of prying into the secrets of the human body, and his works were burnt. Monsieur de Laragnais was imprisoned for having read a paper in favour of inoculation before an assembly of the Academy in Paris. His vain defence was that by his advocacy he hoped to preserve to France the lives of fifty thousand persons who died annually of smallpox. The Faculty of Theology in Paris burnt the books of the

geologists, banished their authors and compelled the naturalist Buffon to retract as "contrary to the creed of the Church" the heretical assertion that mountains and valleys had been produced by the action of the sea.

Voltaire among other projects for benefitting France, wished to make known to his countrymen the discoveries of Newton, but the authorities interposed and forbad it. In Spain even until 1788 if not later, the despotism of the Universities prohibited Newton and modern philosophy. The Encyclopædia designed by Diderot to summarise all branches of science and art, was first discouraged and afterwards prohibited by the French Government.

Similar instances might be indefinitely multiplied, and if such were the conditions centuries after the so-called Renaissance, what must they have been before that event? What precisely are we to understand by the term Renaissance? It is defined by J. A. Symonds as having been a comprehensive movement of the European *intellect* and *will* towards *self-emancipation* and towards reassertion of the natural rights of reason and the senses." [1] To fix a definite date for the beginning, the development, or the consummation of the movement is impossible although the term is generally understood to mark the transition from the swamp of mediæval ignorance to the comparative joyousness of the last three centuries. How comes it that what was admittedly a revolt against the barren dogmatism of Theology has been designated by a term so essentially religious as "Renaissance" or Re-Birth? According to John Addington Symonds it is a word that has "*recently*" come into use. The *New English Dictionary* assigns its

[1] I have italicised these words to point the analogy between this definition and the pillar emblems illustrated on pp. 107 and 108.

first appearance as an English term to the years 1840 or 1845, but I imagine that in France and Italy the expression is of much older standing. Indeed, I fancy that it was given to the movement by the men who themselves were making it. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould states that the initiation into the mysteries of the St. Grail "was regarded as a NEW BIRTH, and those who had once become members were regarded as elect, regenerate, separate from the rest of mankind, who lay in darkness and ignorance."

Jacob Böhme the mystic cobbler leads off in Chapter I of *De Mysterio Magno* with the words: "If we would understand what the NEW BIRTH is and how it is brought to pass, then we must first know what Man is."

The judicious Hitchcock, who derived his opinions from the study of upwards of 200 works on Alchemy, sums up his conclusions as to the Alchemist's *real* object by saying he could liken it to nothing more expressive than the experience known in religion as The NEW BIRTH.

Wise men under the masks of Poesy, Mysticism, and Alchemy were thus for centuries working out the regeneration of Europe. These scientists of the Soul by the quiet force of perseverance gradually and imperceptibly transformed the jungle of the human heart into a garden of the rose; to a great extent they succeeded in their unseen efforts to transmute the clay of humanity into worthier elements. The Renaissance was not the inevitable clash of the human spirit growing unconsciously into conflict with the rigid and outworn Theology of Rome. There are many countries in Europe to-day whose condition negatives the notion that such a struggle was in any sense "inevitable." No: the Renaissance or re-birth of humanity was the effect of a scheme deliberately designed and artistically contrived

by the prophetic and more nobly gifted minds of past ages. It was not an untended wild flower, but rather a plant rare and exotic, cherished by centuries of blood and tears. "They wish," cried an opponent of the Inquisition, "that we should meet these hungry wolves with remonstrances, using gentle words while they are burning and cutting of heads. Be it so then. *Let us take the pen*, let them take the sword. For them deeds, for us words. We shall weep, they will laugh. The Lord be praised for all; but I cannot write this without tears."

In this pathetic utterance of 300 years ago, is expressed the spirit that had even then existed, suffered, and achieved for a previous five centuries; probably much longer. "For the last 450 years," declared a writer in 1624, "there have been (especially in Europe) a great number in diverse kingdoms and countries which have made profession of a religion altogether conformable to the Word of God . . . having mourned under the darkness of Antichrist wherein they shined like precious stones in a dunghill, and *roses among the thorns*. They seemed to the world but as abject men, but God beheld them as His Children, and gave them eyes to see and ears to hear, and a heart to understand the Truth." "It is wonderful," continues this same writer, "that they saw so clearly in those times of darkness more gross than that of Egypt."

Gradually and almost imperceptibly, the Light of the Renaissance crept up and spread over the face of Europe:

> "Lo! in the East
> Flamed the first fires of beauteous day, poured forth
> Through fleeting folds of Night's black drapery.
> High in the widening blue the herald-star
> Faded to paler silver as there shot

Brighter and brightest bars of rosy gleam
Across the grey. Far off the shadowy hills
Saw the great Sun, before the world was 'ware,
And donned their crowns of crimson; flower by flower
Felt the warm breath of Morn and 'gan unfold
Their tender lids. Over the spangled grass
Swept the swift footsteps of the lovely Light
Turning the tears of night to joyous gems,
Decking the earth with radiance, 'broidering
The sinking storm-clouds with a golden fringe.
. . . . . .
Yea! and so holy was the influence
Of that high Dawn which came with victory
That, far and near, in homes of men there spread
An unknown peace. The slayer hid his knife;
The robber laid his plunder back; the schroff
Counted full tale of coins; all evil hearts
Grew gentle, kind hearts gentler, as the balm
Of that divinest Daybreak lightened Earth."

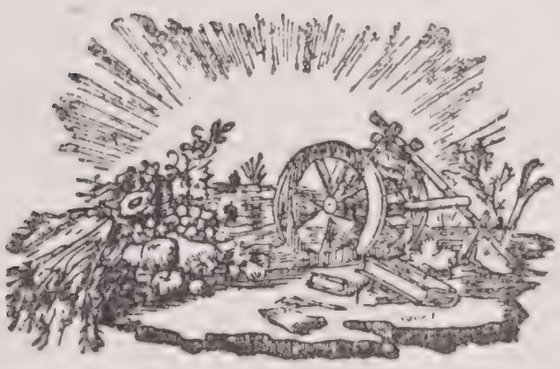


FIG. 407.—Tailpiece. Geneva, 1776.

CONCLUSION

THE facts now outlined represent the result of some ten years' research. I should hesitate to commit them to print were it not that each new source of information serves but to verify and expand my conclusions. The area of inquiry has been wide; indeed, so wide that the specialist in every subject may feel inclined to dub me "uneducated." Unhappily, one cannot cover more than a certain amount of reading within a given compass; I can only wish that my limitations had been less rigid, but that happily I may be the means of putting others better equipped upon the trail.

The evidence now accumulated is not a chain of which the value can be destroyed by the breaking of a single link; it is a cable of many and well woven strands sufficiently strong to withstand mere negation or the dull supposition that it may be due to "chance." Trivialities such as "trademarks" have naturally been deemed unworthy of serious attention, yet, as has been shown, they constitute a sequence of historical documents whose authenticity cannot be impeached. These documents exist in untold millions among the libraries and bookshops of the world. In the dust of old volumes may be read the aspirations and the sufferings of the men who made them—actions which after the lapse of centuries smell sweet and blossom in the dust. Some years ago a leading periodical rebuked me for attributing any meaning or importance to paper-

marks. "*They took very curious shapes*," it conceded, but the explanation of this was that "*in all probability the workmen varied them for their own amusement* (!)."

The story as I have endeavoured to interpret it may be wrong in some of its details; its poetic fragrance has certainly been much impaired by its transit through my matter of fact English mind, but in its broad issues it conveys, I am convinced, a fair outline of the truth.

The evidence of papermarks leaves no loop to hang a doubt on that the early manufacture of paper was almost if not entirely in the hands of anti-Ecclesiastics. It is of course not infrequent to find old papers in which no watermark occurs, and occasionally one comes across what is apparently a purely Catholic emblem. Facts such as these are exceptions to be expected; they do not disturb the main conclusions.

Books free from watermarks are as a rule equally free from printer's ornaments. It is a reasonable and natural inference that Albigensian printers obtained their paper supplies from makers who shared their sentiments which were expressed in similar emblems.

It is worthy of note that many terms of modern publishing are directly derived from ancient watermarks. The *Crown* 8*vo*, that figures so constantly in booksellers' catalogues, arises from the celestial *crown* of the papermakers. The St. Grail has been corrupted into "pot" with its multiples double and quad *pot*. The Horn of Roland—although it is to be found centuries before the introduction of any post—has been erroneously assumed to represent a *post-horn*, whence the terms large and small *post*. The Holy Dove survives in the name Colombier, and the Troubadours—those mediæval Fools who grew

wise through pity—have become a household word in the name *Foolscap*.

It may be objected that Troubadours and Fools were distinct classes. I refer the sceptic to *Les Mystères de la Chevalerie*, E. Aroux, Paris, 1858, and to a scholarly little work by Mrs Cooper-Oakley entitled *Traces of a Hidden Tradition in Masonry and Mediæval Mysticism*, London, 1900. There was also an interesting article on the Guild Fools of Mediæval France in the June 1907 issue of *Broad Views*. "Pray Heaven," says the writer, "I had some of these 'splendid fools' with their 'wicked wit' among my ancestors; men with an irrepressible spirit of humour, 'fellows of infinite jest,' who considered it their duty to be happy in themselves, and to endeavour to make others so, and who lashed with their caustic speech alike the prelate and the priest, the king and the courtier. For the first duty, the first privilege that devolved on the Fool when he became an 'innocent' in the eyes of the Law, was to tell the truth! The Guild Fool as such was a mysterious character who appeared in dramatic guilds, chiefly in Mediæval France. These Guilds resembled somewhat the literary and dramatic clubs of our own day, but within and behind them was seen a definite moral aim working strongly for the uplifting of public ideals. We find also a certain collusion between the members of them, which seems to suggest some stronger bond than any merely literary club would give."

"The Fool's duty was to help in the liberating of humanity as he had himself been liberated from all dogmas, forms, and human tyranny, and from the tutelage of priests. For the first step upon the mystic road made a man centuries ago, as it does to-day, an iconoclast. A man must

learn to break up his idols, the idols of his own brain, the idols of his own heart. His is the freedom of a heart dedicated to one alone. And the name of the one far-off and invisible Mistress that the Fool of the Middle Ages dreamt of as he walked in the garden at night apart from the crowd of the rich and ignorant, which he had been convulsing with his wit—her name was TRUTH."

Upwards of a century ago, the symbol of the Fool gave place in this country to the watermark below. Since then

Modern

FIG. 408.

practically every sheet of foolscap made in England has borne this mark, and the reader will probably see it in the next sheet of writing paper he examines. The paper-makers' "Britannia" of to-day is in reality the same divinity who was figured centuries ago with the crescent of the Dawn upon her forehead.

It is unnecessary to digress into the story of Britannia's birth and parentage. It will be noticed that as she appears in

papermark, she is encircled by the ellipse, or Mundane Egg of the Philosophers, surmounted by a celestial crown. In one hand she holds the trefoil (originally it was often an olive branch), in the other a diamond-tipped spear. At her feet flow the waters of the Holy Spirit.

Many of the curious marks that are to-day in conventional use by the makers of handmade papers (serving to designate certain sizes) are survivals of long-ago-disused designs. Thus for instance in Fig. 409 may be traced clear reminiscences of the head, eyes and horns of a Bull.

Fig. 408A.—1722.

Modern

Fig. 409.

It might reasonably be supposed that a Trade clinging thus conservatively to its traditions would possess some knowledge of the romantic cause to which these are traceable. It happens that I am associated with a firm whose records go back for upwards of one hundred and twenty years. Yet strange as it may seem, neither my

partners nor myself have the slightest inkling of any traditions or knowledge existing on this subject, nor have I been able to trace such in any other directions.

Circumstances naturally bring me into close contact with Printing, and among printers and publishers I have many friends. Here again, however, no traditions as to the great rôle played by Printing in the past seem to have survived. There exists, however, a curious organisation called "The Chapel." The Chapel is a kind of club that exists among the workpeople of the more important printing offices. The Head of each "Chapel" is termed the Father of the Chapel. Within my own memory, the older workmen of my firm commenced the day's proceedings with a prayer meeting.

Making every allowance for apathy and the modern spirit of Commercialism, it seems hardly possible to credit that the memory of such momentous doings should have entirely vapoured away into oblivion. I have sometimes wondered whether by chance I have stumbled upon one of the tracks of Freemasonry. Masonic emblems are, however, a class distinct from those here dealt with. The geometrical symbols of Freemasonry, so frequently to be seen in continental churches, are also to be found in printer's marks and on the title-pages of books, but I have not now considered them. My reading of Masonic history leads me to conclude that it was not until the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries that *modern* Masonry came into existence. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that, assuming the possession of a correct knowledge, masonic writers would suffer the wrong, and sometimes infamous, misinterpretations that have been placed by the world on—say the Alchemistical Philosophers, the Renaissance, Elizabethan

poetry, and other equally ill-judged subjects. They might consider it impolitic to disclose the true facts, but they are not called ûpon to mock their avowed mistress, Truth.

A second and more likely source of information, and that to which one naturally turns, are those survivors of Albigensianism still known as the Waldenses. At the first opportunity it is my intention to visit the valleys of this wonderful little people, and glean what information can be gathered. The narrative of Dr Gilly, who travelled among them in 1825, is extremely touching: "Much as I was prejudiced in favour of this extraordinary race, before I became personally acquainted with their character, that acquaintance has increased my admiration of them. If innocence and pure religion can be said to reign anywhere, it is here; and all my inquiries and researches have had the effect of bringing the firm conviction to my mind, that they are one of those favoured people, whom the arm of the Almighty has providentially shielded, for purposes best known to His inscrutable wisdom. Their morals correspond with their faith; and their lives and conversation testify that the doctrines they profess are those of the truth; for nothing short of a firm persuasion, that they are burning and shining lights, which are not to be put out, could have given them courage and perseverance, sufficient to withstand the temptations, to which their spiritual integrity has been exposed, or to resist the strong hand which has been lifted up against them for more than ten centuries. I had opportunities of observing the conduct of individuals of this little community, at different times, and under various circumstances, at home and abroad, in the transactions of business, and the kindly courtesies of life, and in their hours of devotion and festivity, and I am impressed with

the belief that there is nothing exaggerated, either in the favourable representations made by their own historians, or in the eulogies of strangers."

The Waldenses, says Dr Gilly, were the first to expose the abuses of the Romish Church. "They were the first who engaged to cleanse this Augean stable of corruption: and if we had records that would enable us to follow step by step through their bold and arduous undertaking, we should be able to exhibit one of the most glorious pictures of human perseverance that was ever displayed."

With all humility I submit that papermarks and printer's ornaments are unquestionable records of Waldensian activity, and that here is to be found unrolled that marvellous picture of perseverance which Dr Gilly anticipated.

"We will await with patience the appointed time,"[1] is an expression that was heard constantly by Dr Gilly, and he understood it as possibly an allusion to the part which the Waldenses have borne, and expect to bear, in the grand scheme for the propagation of true Christianity among mankind.

It is quite conceivable that these extraordinary people possess traditional records, but that it is out of keeping with their principles to disclose their own accomplishments. Their Christianity seems to have been unworldly in its purity. The story of their sufferings and persecutions—horrors too monstrous for description—almost too vast to be believed, are depicted in detail in Leger's very scarce work published in 1655. "That volume," said a Waldensian to Dr Gilly, "I never saw until I was twenty-four years of age, although it was in my father's and grandfather's possession; nor have I ever permitted either of my own

[1] This is reminiscent of "the time of the end," see p. 195.

children to open a page of it. *It is one of our principles not to say or do anything which shall have the effect of exasperating the minds of our youth against their Roman Catholic brethren.*"

Charity such as this is more than capable of the decision, 'The Light is here; the past is done with, and what matters the part we have played?'

But momentous though the rôle and deep the footprints of this great-minded little people, the heretical Church of the Holy Grail was something more than pure Waldensianism. It was a broader and more significant stream. Rising in the dim East, its manifold windings may be traced throughout the Dark Ages. Its waters were unquestionably fed by Waldensian streamlets which mingled ebbing and flowing with other tributaries. I doubt whether the influence exercised by the *Romaunt of the Rose* or the *Song of Roland* can be referred solely to Waldensianism. The *Legends of the St. Grail* had an Eastern origin: so too Alchemy. It is said by some historians that the fearful vengeance that fell upon the Templars was due to their adherence to the Grail Church. There was too, I imagine, no great sympathy between the oriental subtleties of the Kabbalah and the austere tenets of Peter Waldo.

If I were a believer in the theory of reincarnation, the spirit of a Troubadour Grail Knight reappeared, I should say, in the person of Richard Wagner. The philosophy of Wagner was a remarkable blend of Catholic and Protestant, Christian and Buddhist ideas; it was curiously similar in this respect to the philosophy displayed in papermarks and woodblocks. Wagner appreciated that the highest and most potent mode of playing upon Humanity's heartstrings was by a combination of Music, Poetry and Stage-craft.

His themes centre around the mystery of the St. Grail and kindred myths. In his Mastersingers (the next inheritors of the Minnesingers or Troubadours) he gives us Hans Sachs, the historic cobbler-poet. In Sachs we see a representative of the unnumbered paper-poets, printer-poets and other artisans who combined work with aspiration. Sachs was a typical Son of the Dawn, one of those whom Bacon terms *Filii Auroræ*, men "full of towardness and hope." Listen to the exultant hymn in which he pours out his soul to Luther and the Reformation :—

"Awake! Awake! The day is near
And from the leafy hedge I hear
The love-enchanted nightingale
Whose song resounds through hill and dale :
The night to westward sinks away,
Out of the East appears the Day.
The darkling veil of clouds is drawn
And bright with scarlet burns the Dawn."

But more remarkable is the "Prize Song" placed by Wagner in the mouth of the aspiring youth who carries off the Mastersingers' laurels. Translated by Mr F. Corder it reads :—

"Morning was gleaming with *roseate* light,
The air was filled
With scent distilled
Where, beauty beaming,
Past all dreaming,
A *garden* did invite.
Wherein, beneath a wondrous tree
With *fruit* superbly laden,
In blissful love-dream I could see
The *rare and tender maiden*,
Whose charms, beyond all price,
Entranced by heart—
Eve, in Paradise.

" Evening was darkling, and night closed around;
By rugged way
My feet did stray
Towards a *mountain*
Where a *fountain*
Enslaved me with its sound;
And there beneath a laurel tree,
With starlight glinting under,
In waking vision greeted me
A sweet and solemn wonder;
She dropped on me the fountain's *dews*,
That woman fair—
Parnassus' glorious Muse.

" Thrice happy day,
To which my poet's trance gave place!
That Paradise of which I dreamed,
In radiance new before my face
Glorified lay.
To point out the path the laughing brooklet streamed:
She stood beside me
Who shall my bride be,
The fairest sight earth e'er gave,
My Muse, to whom I bow,
So angel-sweet and grave,
I woo her boldly now:
Before the world remaining,
My might of music gaining
Parnassus and Paradise!"

Observe how in these lines is concentrated much of the mythology we have been considering. Walter "pretends to" Eva, the daughter of Pogner, but the Eva who dwelt in the Orchard of the Rose, the love pilgrim, the mountain, the fountain, the dew, the woman fair and the bride, all these are as purely allegorical as the Song of Solomon.

I have glanced thus briefly at the art of Richard Wagner, because in that direction only is recognisable any appreciation of the verities underlying mediæval romance.

As for Printing and Papermaking, the sordid claw of Competition has so torn and rent the exquisite fabric in which these trades were once adorned that nothing now remains but some few neglected shreds and patches.

In the *Edinburgh Review* of July 1906, there appeared a very able article on French Illuminism. The writer states that at the opening of the eighteenth century there survived all over Europe legends of secret societies that had existed for the pursuit of mystical philosophy. "Speaking generally," says he, "their interest did not lie in the region of politics or polemics, but in that of study, experiment and speculation; and their chief care was the preservation and elucidation of ancient hermetic and traditional secrets." Their teaching was theosophic and moral (the morals of mysticism are nearly always clean and sweet); their method was to develop the somnolent divine faculties in humanity, and to lead man into a closer relation with the invisible. Their objective was Liberty—the freedom of the soul from its own passions and the liberation of mankind from the tyranny of temporal powers. The word LIBERTAS watermarked on p. 35 was a dangerous motto in those days. The efforts of authority to disembarrass the world of its thinkers were directed even more bitterly against political dreamers. "The forgetfulness by vassals," wrote Don John of Austria to his kinsman Philip II. of Spain, "is so dangerous that all princes and potentates, even those at the moment exempt from trouble, should assist in preparing the remedy in order that their subjects may not take it into their heads to do the like, *liberty* being a *contagious disease*, which goes on infecting one neighbour after another, if the cure be not promptly applied."

What we call the Renaissance was merely the fruiting of a plant whose cult had been the cherished work of centuries. Persecution forced its guardians into strange shifts and mysterious modes of intercommunication. Enveloped by the spies and familiars of the Inquisition, those responsible for the Renaissance were driven to play their great game in profound secrecy. Men of deep ends, they trod deep ways. They may be recognised flitting across the stage of History in the guises *inter alia* of Romanticists, Troubadours, Pilgrims of Love, Templars, Alchemists, and Illuminati.

It should be of great interest to us to look back into the centuries, and see the strange methods to which men were compelled to resort for the simple privilege of living and thinking honestly. Changing frequently their tactics they deviated never from their aims. The machinery they devised was so subtle that we may, if we will, catch across the ages, the cry, the whisper, and the smile, which contemporary tyranny had no instrument keen enough to detect or firm enough to suppress.

It is amazing the risks they ran, but the tangible evidence of "pagan" emblems, such as Diana (p. 61), are too obvious for us to question those risks. On the other hand, it is surprising how in the face of forces so numerous, so subtle, and so persevering, the Church of Rome was able to maintain her stability.

In that Titanic struggle nothing is more surprising than the strength and *duration* of the influence exercised by the mediæval romances. Upon deliberate consideration my judgment is that a concealed instruction and allegory was originally intended in many of these ancient fables. As Bacon continues in the *Wisdom of the Ancients*: "I

receive them not as the product of the age or invention of the poets, but as sacred relics. Gentle whispers and the breath of better times that from the traditions of more ancient nations came at length into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks."

For "Greeks" we may substitute "French"; indeed all the evidence tends to the conclusion that France, and not Italy, was the nursing mother of the Renaissance. The word romance originally designated a story written in *roman*, *i.e.* eleventh or twelfth century *French* instead of Latin. The "Song of Roland," the Legends of the St. Grail and the Romaunt of the Rose were French. The beautiful culture of Provence which at first permeated Southern Europe, and eventually the whole continent, with a perfume of poetry and gentle living, was essentially French. J. A. Symonds remarks that the Albigensian dissenters from the Catholic Church opposed the phalanxes of Orthodoxy with but "frail, imaginative weapons." Were he to turn to the Industrial aspect of Albigensianism, Symonds would confirm my conclusion that these poetic heretics were as great in deeds as in dreams. Their character was, as M. Berard states in *Les Vaudois*, "a strange combination of ardent mysticism, cold reason, and valiant courage at labour." That we English are indebted to French sources for the art of papermaking, is manifest from the fact that even to-day French terms such as retree, *couch* rolls (from *coucher*), demy, colombier, etc., are in use among us. The Province of Auvergne claims to have been the cradle of European papermaking. Certainly it was a flourishing centre of the industry for many centuries. The Troubadours were *French*. The Guilds of Rhetoric existed "chiefly in mediæval France," whence

they permeated Europe. The first poetical impu
cultured classes in Italy "came to Italy *from F*
The Battlefield of Freedom was mainly the
Netherlands where for upwards of one hundred
people maintained an heroic struggle against the s
remorseless powers of Spain. The revolt ente
through the Augsburg but the Huguenot gate.
field-preachers *from the South of France* first inf
excitable hearts of the kindred population of t
western Netherlands."

The writer on Illuminism from whom I hav
quoted states that "In *France* it [Illuminism] was *e*
From Avignon, Lyons and other citadels of Free
flashed," says he, "through the grey night of
the watchfires of great hope tended by those
progress who though unable to lift the veil tha
the destiny of man and the end of worlds,
were empowered to dedicate the future to the
God."

In studying the philosophy of papermarks and
I have often mentally debated whether it was "C
In the narrow sense of modern Christianity it cer
not. Aroux states that Dante conceived the
project of employing Ecclesiastical symbols to c
Platonic teaching. Schmidt asserts that the Catha
accept Jesus Christ *literally*, but that they emp
dogmas of Christianity as emblems of a deeper p
adopting merely what suited their own purpos
from being a Christian philosophy," says he, "t
of the Cathari was linked to the metaphysical spec
paganism."

unnecessary for me to consider. I entrust it to students of the New Theology with the comment of Ecclesiastes, "Is there a thing whereof men say, See this is New? It hath been already in the ages which were before us."

I am not without hope that the clergy may come forward and assist in the unravelling of the many problems still awaiting solution. To them this is a subject fraught with a vital importance. We shall hear less of the failure of Christianity if it be proved—as it can—that the moral progress of Europe has been due to a highly intellectual form of Christianity; and it will infuse new confidence and hope into those who view with disquietude the present position of the churches. The so-called churchless spirit of the age is due not to ill-will, nor to intellectual apathy, but rather to the superficial materialism of the Christianity seen around.

The irrigation system of the Church is excellent, but its reservoirs are running dry. If it is to refill them, it must be by the appreciation of the truths underlying symbolism, and by the distinction between matters of fact and matters of allegory. "Theologians," says Emerson, "think it a pretty air castle to talk of the spiritual meaning of a ship, or a cloud, of a city, or a contract; but the highest minds of the world have never ceased to explore the double meaning, or shall I say the quadruple, or the centuple, or much more manifold meaning of every sensuous fact."

"Allegory," says Bacon, "is like a casket in which the most precious things of science are wont to be laid up." Equally true is it that "even to this day if any man would let new light in upon the human understanding, and conquer prejudice without raising contests, animosities, opposition, or disturbance, he must still go in the same path,

and have recourse to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and allusion."

It is not to be feared that the realisation that many portions of the Old and New Testament are allegorical will result in any real loss of Faith. Faith survives, but as Christie Murray says, the form dies when faith has parted from it. "A thousand creeds have perished, and at the fall of each there has gone up an exceeding bitter cry that faith has flown and has left the world without a comforter, and even whilst the clamour rises the new faith stands there to smile its promise, loftier, lovelier, nobler than of old."

As trustees of our national Cathedrals, there is yet an additional reason why the clergy should scientifically investigate symbolism—particularly the symbolism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To the Cathedral Builders sculpture was not mere ornament, but the expression of their Theosophy. As Leader Scott points out: "The very smallest tracery had a meaning; every leaf, every rudely carved animal spoke in mystic language of some great truth in religion." This writer argues with great acumen the existence of a Masonic Guild traceable to the Comacine Masters. The headquarters of this Guild were Lombardy, of which the arms are to be seen in water-mark on p. 30. The symbols used by these architects of Lombardy are, speaking generally, the same as those employed by their fellow Lombardian papermakers. Not only the ornamentation of churches, but their general form were largely, if not entirely, governed by Symbolism. It is from *The Symbolism of the Churches* by Durandus the Provençal, that I have quoted so largely in the preceding pages.

"History," says Sismondi, "has no true importance,

but as it contains a moral lesson. It should be explored not for scenes of carnage, but for instructions in the government of mankind." To the Ethnologist and the Psychologist, the story I have disinterred will, I am in hopes, be of some value. The Church of the Holy Grail has broken the conditions which once fettered her, but her enemies, though now less material, are still ruthless and malignant. To contend with them successfully, the Church of the Future must cancel the unwarrantable distinction between "secular" and "sacred," and must re-enlist her old-time emissaries the Musicians, the Dramatists, the Novelists, the Painters, and the Poets.

FINIS

Valete = good health be with you:
may you fare well!
(Papermark. Toulouse, 1561.)

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The facts now presented tend to prove that—

1. From their first appearance in 1282, until the latter half of the eighteenth century, the curious designs inserted into paper in the form of watermarks constitute a coherent and unbroken chain of *emblems*.
2. That these emblems are Thought-fossils or Thought-crystals, in which lie enshrined the aspirations and traditions of the numerous mystic and puritanic sects by which Europe was overrun in the Middle Ages.
3. Hence that these papermarks are historical documents of high importance, throwing light not only on the evolution of European thought, but upon many obscure problems of the past.
4. Watermarks denote that papermaking was an art introduced into Europe, and fostered there by the pre-Reformation Protestant sects known in France as the Albigenses and Waldenses, and in Italy as the Cathari or Patarini.
5. That these heresies, though nominally stamped out by the Papacy, existed secretly for many centuries subsequent to their disappearance from the sight of History.
6. The embellishments used by printers in the Middle Ages are emblems similar to those used by papermakers, and explicable by a similar code of interpretation.
7. The awakening known as the Renaissance was the direct result of an influence deliberately and traditionally exercised by papermakers, printers, cobblers, and other artisans.
8. The nursing mother of the Renaissance and consequently of the Reformation was not, as hitherto assumed, Italy, but the Provençal district of France.

These are novel and subversive propositions, but I have confidence that History will eventually accept them.

HAROLD BAYLEY.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

p. 2. **Papermarks Emblematic.** In his *Principia Typographica* S. L. Sotheby conjectured that watermarks were dictated by the nature of the books in which they are found. "I venture to assert," he writes, "that until after, or probably the close of, the XVth century there are no marks in paper which may be said to apply individually to the maker of the paper." The first writer to appreciate the significance of watermarks was Mrs. Henry Pott, who published her conclusions in *Francis Bacon and his Secret Society* (Chicago, 1891), a book containing many valuable facts and suggestions.

,, 4. **Prof. Courthope.** *Cf. A History of English Poetry*, ii. 344-347. In *An Introduction to the Literature of Europe* Hallam observes: "This scheme of allegorical interpretation began among the earliest fathers, and spread with perpetual expansion through the Middle Ages. The Reformation swept most of it away"(i. 204).

,, 5. **Laborare est orare.** *Cf. Les Vaudois.* Alex. Berard, Lyons, 1892, p. 106.

,, 6. **Papermaking and Heresy.** M. Briquet mentions that in the seventeenth century the Province of Angoumois was pre-eminent for its papermaking. He states: "The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes dealt a severe blow to this industry. Most of the paper merchants who had succeeded in concentrating the business into their own hands were Dutch or English, *all Protestants.* Their departure from the kingdom, by depriving the master papermakers not only of the capital they needed, but of the extended business relations requisite for distribution, paralyzed the manufacture." It is said that papermaking gave employment to a million work-

people in Angoumois. "This working population," says M. Briquet, "formed a distinct class. The workers constituted corporations, and followed traditions and regulations that were transmitted from father to son. They did not willingly admit strangers within their ranks, and, closely united among themselves, they often, in some measure, dictated terms to their patrons" (*Les Filigranes*, iv. 690, 691).

In *Histoire des Papeteries à la cuve d'Arches et d'Archettes* (Paris, 1904) M. Henri Onfroy throws some valuable sidelights on the secret organisation of the papermakers' guilds. "One is struck," says he, "by the general spirit of insubordination that from all time has animated papermaking workmen. *Collaborating in the propagation of the written thought which during the 18th century was the great destructive agent of the state of affairs up till then respected, it would seem that the papermaking workmen had a knowledge of the social upheavals which were about to occur, and of which they were the obscure auxiliaries.* All the documents that concern their history reveal numerous facts which demonstrate the opinionativeness and turbulence of their claims" (p. 36).

I was unacquainted with this passage until the foregoing pages were in print. It is gratifying to find external testimony to a state of affairs which I had already deduced from internal evidence.

p. 7. The ornament is a papermark from *Sir Francis Bacon and his Secret Society*. The author gives no date or reference.

,, 8. This print is reproduced by the courtesy of Mr. Lewis Evans.

,, 10. **Les Filigranes**. The University of Geneva has conferred upon M. C. M. Briquet the distinction of *Docteur ès Lettres*, *honoris causa*, in recognition of the eminent service rendered to History, Archæology, and Ethnology by the publication of *Les Filigranes*. Unhappily the twenty-five years spent on its preparation has cost the author the use of his eyesight. On glancing over my

references to M. Briquet's monumental work I find them inadequately expressive of the respect and admiration it demands. I therefore take the present opportunity of recording my profound appreciation and gratitude. M. Briquet's work is a classic that must eventually be found in every library of any importance.

p. 13. **Montet.** *Cf. Histoire Litteraire des Vaudois.* Ed. Montet, Paris, 1885, p. 13.

Dieulouard. *Cf. Nouveau Dictionnaire de Geographie Universelle.* Saint Martin, Paris, 1884.

Pates = "*Patois meridionaux signifiant vieux linge.*" *Cf. Histoire des Cathares ou Albigeois.* C. Schmidt, Geneva, 1849, ii. 279.

In *The Empire and the Papacy* T. F. Tout, M.A. says: "The Paterini were known as the ragpickers and 'the ragbags'" (p. 115).

„ 14. **Illustrations.** Except where otherwise stated these are from examples in my own collection. The watermarks are reduced to one-half their actual size. The printers' ornaments are *facsimiles.*

The following are the abbreviations employed:—

B. = *Les Filigranes.* C. M. Briquet, Geneva, 1907.

S. = *Principia Typographica.* S. L. Sotheby, Lond. 1858.

J. = *Essai sur la gravure.* Jansen, Paris, 1808.

M.M. = *Étude sur les Filigranes.* Midoux, E., et Matton, A., Paris, 1868.

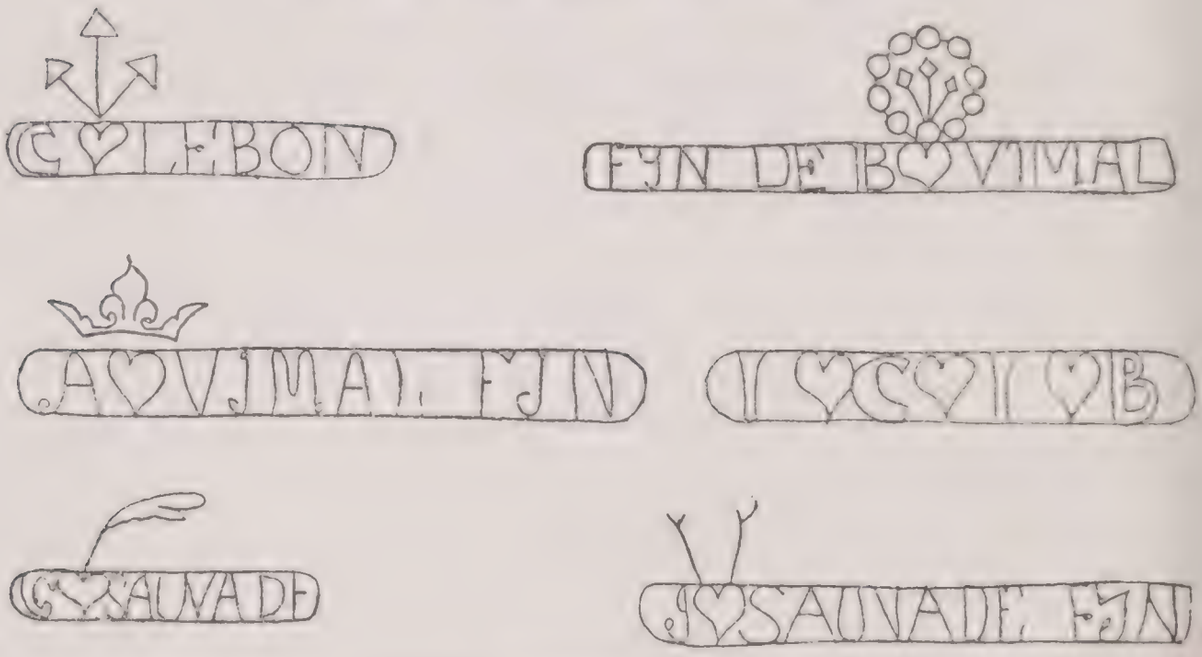
P. = *Francis Bacon and his Secret Society.* Mrs. Pott, Chicago, 1891.

„ 14. Figs. 2 and 3. From *Note sur la Papeterie d'Auvergne.* M. Cohendy, Clermont, 1862.

„ „ **Heart.** According to Dionysius the Areopagite—a writer whose works "swayed the whole of mediæval Christianity more than any other book except the New Testament itself"—the heart is "a symbol of the Godlike life dispersing its own life-giving power to the objects of its forethought, as beseems the good." By French papermakers the heart (generally accentuated

by an additional symbol) was often employed in lieu of the full stop. The curious triangle of C. Lebon may possibly be an expression of Quarles' sentiment:

> "The whole round world is not enough to fill
> The heart's three corners, but it craveth still;
> Only the Trinity that made it can
> Suffice the vast *triangled* heart of man."



French Papermarks, 18th century.

p. 15. Figs. 4, 5, and 6 (S.).
Unicorn. *Cf. The Triumphal Chariot of Alchemy.* Lond. 1893, p. 59. *Symbolism in Christian Art.* F. E. Hulme. Lond. 1892, p. 178. *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers.* H. Green, Lond. 1870, p. 371. The unicorn was used as a watermark in Venice so late as 1778.

,, 16. Figs. 7 and 8 (M.M.); 10 (S.).
Stag. *Cf. Symbolism in Christian Art*, p. 176.

,, 17. Figs. 11, 12, and 13 (M.M.).

,, 18. Figs. 14-17 (B.).

Fig. 18 (M.M.).
The Tau Cross, surrounded by a crown, may sometimes be seen decorating English churches. "The cross as an emblem of regeneration was first adopted by the

Egyptians, who expressed the several increases of the Nile (by whose fertilising inundations the soil was regenerated) by a column marked with several crosses. They hung it as a talisman around the necks of their children and sick people. It was sometimes represented in an abridged form by the letter T." *Histoire du Ciel.* Pluche. *Cf. A Lexicon of Freemasonry.* A. G. Mackey, p. 78.

Ladder. In the Mithraic rites at the Christian era the Ladder was used as a type of the means whereby the soul's ascent was made through the various grades to the celestial spheres.

p. 20. Figs. 22 (P.); 23, 24 (M.M.); 25 (B.); 26 (S.).

„ 21. Fig. 27 (B.).

Candlestick. *Cf. The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments.* Durandus, Lond. 1906, p. 34.

Scissors. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

„ 22. **Durandus first printed.** I made this statement on the authority of the editors of Durandus, but Mr. Peddie, of the Blades Library—to whom I am indebted for many courtesies—points out that it's accuracy is rather doubtful. The first edition of Durandus was in 1459, and in 1457 one or two small things were issued other than Psalters or Bibles.

„ 24. **Serpent.** *Cf. Isis Unveiled.* H. P. Blavatsky, i. 147.

Balzac. *Cf. Quest of the Absolute.*

„ 25. Figs. 34, 35, and 36 (B.).

Knot Cross. Mrs. G. F. Watts alludes, in *The Word in the Pattern*, to the "beautiful knot often found upon Celtic crosses where the cord traces four hearts interlaced so as to give at the same time the sign of the cross, sacrificing love; love not for one, but for all, even to the four quarters of the Earth—Divine Love, sacrificing, suffering, dying, to give spiritual life" (p. 13).

Fylfot Knot. Mrs. Watts states that the Sanscrit name for the central cross here shown has in it the root

words "to be" and "well"; a sign of beneficence indicating that "the maze of life may bewilder, but the path of light runs through it: 'It is well' is the name of the path, and the key to life eternal is in the strange labyrinth for those whom 'God leadeth'" (p. 15). *Cf. The Migration of Symbols*, Count Goblet d'Alviella, and *Symbolism of the East and West*, Murray-Aynsley.

p. 26. **Figure Four.** Almost all the peoples of antiquity possessed a name for Deity consisting of *four* letters. Thus:

Assyrian	ADAD
Egyptian	AMUN
Persian	SYRE or SIRE
Greek	(TH)EOS
Latin	DEUS
German	GOTT
French	DIEU
Turkish	ESAR
Arabian	ALLH

Cf. Numbers: Their Occult Power and Mystic Virtue, W. Wynn Westcott, London, 1890, p. 22; *Isis Unveiled*, i. 9.

Scales. *Cf. Isis Unveiled*, ii. 457.

Figs. 37, 38, 39, 40 (B.); 41, 42 (S.).

,, 27. **Pelican.** In St. Saviour's Church, Reading, there is a Pelican lectern.

Figs. 43, 45, 46 (S.); 44 (M.M.).

,, 28. Figs. 48, 53 (B.); 50, 51, 52 (S.).

,, 29. Fig. 59 (P.). "Old writer" = Purchas. *Cf. Microcosmos*, Lond. 1619.

,, 30. Fig. 62 (B.).

,, 31. **Trinity = Man.** The Lollards designated human beings as "second Trinitys." *Cf. Lollardy and the Reformation.* Dr. J. Gairdner, Lond. 1908, i. 12, 48.

Aroux. *Cf. Dante; Heretique, Revolutionnaire, et Socialiste.* Paris, 1854, p. 94.

Massinger. *Emperor of the East*, i. 2.

p. 34. **Star.** *Cf. Microcosmos.* Purchas, Lond. 1619. "The mind is not divided from the essence of God, but connexed thereto as light to the body of the Sun. . . . Fixing her eye on God, it is filled with Divine power and makes the body like to a shining starre" (p. 569).

Om Mani, etc. These are the concluding lines of Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia.*

„ 35. Fig. 85 (J.); 86 (B.); 87 (S.).

„ 36. **The Provencals.** *Cf. The Troubadours: their Loves and their Lyrics.* J. Rutherford, Lond. 1873, pp. 3, 12, and 44.

„ 37. **Kill them all.** This memorable principle was again urged in 1602, when the descendants of the Moors were evicted from Spain—to the number of 2 millions of men, women, and children. According to Buckle:

"The Archbishop of Valencia thought that children under seven years of age need not share in the general banishment, but might, without danger to the faith, be separated from their parents, and kept in Spain. To this the Archbishop of Toledo strongly objected. He was unwilling, he said, to run the risk of pure Christian blood being polluted by infidels; and he declared that sooner than leave one of these unbelievers to corrupt the land, he would have the whole of them—men, women, and children—at once put to the sword. That they should all be slain, instead of being banished, was the desire of a powerful party in the Church, who thought that such signal punishment would work good by striking terror into the heretics of every nation. Bleda, the celebrated Dominican, one of the most influential men of his time, wished to have this done, and to be done thoroughly. He said that, for the sake of example, every Morisco in Spain should have his throat cut, because it was impossible to tell which of them were Christians at heart, and it was enough to leave the matter to God, who knew his own, and who would reward in the next world those who were really Catholics" (*History of Civilisation*, ii. 395 [World's Classics]).

p. 37. **Count Raymond.** Hallam mentions the existence in the Tower of London of a letter from one of the Counts of Toulouse, *circa* 1216, "upon very strong *paper*." I have examined at the Record Office the document presumably that to which Hallam refers. It is only about four inches square, and being pasted into a guardbook, the watermark, if any, is not apparent.

„ 38. **Moors and papermaking.** It is said that the first manufacture of rag-paper in Europe was in Spain. In 1154 there was a mill at Jativa, and soon after traces of papermaking are found in Italy, France, and Germany. As 1194 was the date when the Albigenses were evicted from Aragon, it seems not improbable that it was they who brought the art into Christian Europe. Among early papermarks is a human head, which Sotheby characterises as "a *Moor's* head." If it really be a Moor's head, this would be presumptive evidence that the art was derived from the Moors and that a tradition of the fact had survived.

„ 38. **Waldenses.** *Cf. Les Vaudois.* Alex. Berard, Lyons, 1892. *Luther's Forerunners: the bloody rage of that great Antichrist of Rome declared at large in the History of the Waldenses and Albigenses*, translated out of the French by Samson Lennard, Lond. 1624. *Narrative of an Excursion to the mountains of Piedmont and researches among the Vaudois or Waldenses.* W. S. Gilly, M.A., Lond. 1825. *Histoire des Cathares ou Albigeois.* C. Schmidt, Geneva, 1849. *Histoire Litteraire des Vaudois.* Ed. Montet, 1885. *The Waldensian MSS.* J. H. Todd, 1865. Also articles "Waldenses," "Albigenses," and "Cathari" in *Chambers' Encyclopædia.*

„ 40. Figs. 89 (M.M.); 90, 91 (B.).

„ 41. **Shakespeare.** *Cf.* 2 *Hy. VI.*, IV. vii.
Figs. 92-96 (B.).

„ 42. **Milton.** *Cf. Lycidas.*
Figs. 97, 98, 100 (B.).

p. 43. Figs. 101 (B.); 102 (S.).
Hand. *Cf. Principia Typ.* Sotheby, iii. 54. Dr. Mackey states: "The right hand has in all ages been deemed an important symbol to represent the virtue of Fidelity. Among the ancients the right hand and fidelity to an obligation were almost indeed synonymous terms" (*Lexicon of Freemasonry*, p. 290).

Count Goblet d'Alviella mentions, in *The Migration of Symbols*, that "the hand uplifted towards the sky is an oft-repeated image on the *ex voto* of Carthage, and even at the present time it is figured on native houses in Palestine and Morocco to ward off evil spirits from the dwellers therein" (p. 27).

Four. *Cf. Isis Unveiled*, i. 9.

„ 44. Figs. 103-105 (B.).
Bears. *Cf. Hieroglyphicorum*, Lib. viii., p. 80.
Schmidt, i. 54.

„ 45. Fig. 106 (S.). *Lea*, ii. 268, 269, extracted from *Traces of a Hidden Tradition in Masonry and Mediæval Mysticism.* Mrs. T. Cooper-Oakley, Lond. 1900.

„ 46. **Perfecti.** The quotations are from Schmidt, ii. 94, 166.
Ox. *Cf. Symbolism in Christian Art.* F. E. Hulme, Lond. p. 177. "The Image of the Ox," says Dionysius, "denotes the strong and the mature, turning up the intellectual furrows for the reception of the heavenly and productive showers; and the Horns, the guarding and indomitable" (*The Heavenly Hierarchy*, sect. viii.).

, 47. Figs. 107-115 (B.).

, 48. Figs. 117 (P.); 116, 118-124 (B.).

, 50. Figs. 125, 126 (B.); 127 (S.).
Swan. *Cf. Speculum Mundi.* John Swan, Lond. 1635. *Nat. Hist. Lore and Legend.* F. E. Hulme, Lond. 1895, p. 229. "With regard to the Swan it is worthy of note that Ortrud was unaware of its sacred character when she transformed Gottfried (God's peace). Last year in the Glyptotek at Munich we found a piece of sculpture entitled, 'Eros with a

Swan.' This is the only instance we have come across in which the Greek prototype of the Knights of the Swan is associated with the bird of Wisdom, as it is called in the Eastern Scriptures. It is but one more proof of what Wagner so truly terms 'the grand concordance of all genuine myth'" (*Parsifal, Lohengrin, and the Legend of the Holy Grail.* Cleather & Crump, Lond. 1904, p. 90).

p. 51. Figs. 128, 131 (B.); 129 (M.M). **Bells.** In *The Golden Legend* Longfellow thus touches upon the symbolism of Bells:

"For the bells themselves are the best of preachers;
Their brazen lips are learned teachers,
From their pulpits of stone in the upper air,
Sounding aloft without crack or flaw,
Shriller than trumpets under the Law,
Now a sermon, and now a prayer.
The clangorous hammer is the tongue,
This way, that way beaten and swung,
That from Mouth of Brass, as from Mouth of Gold,
May be taught the Testaments, New and Old.
And above it the great cross-beam of wood
Representeth the Holy Rood,
Upon which, like the bell, our hopes are hung.
And the wheel wherewith it is swayed and rung
Is the mind of man that round and round
Sways and maketh the tongue to sound!
And the rope, with its twisted cordage three,
Denoteth the Scriptural Trinity
Of Morals, and Symbols, and History;
And the upward and downward motions show
That we touch upon matters high and low;
And the constant change and transmutation,
Of action and of contemplation,
Downward the Scripture brought from on high,
Upward, exalted again to the sky:
Downward the literal interpretation,
Upward the Vision of Mystery!"

„ 52. **Bells and the Trinity of Scripture.** Of the 258 Bell watermarks illustrated by Briquet, 239 are distinguished by a triplex ornament at the head. Observe how the *Fleur de lys* is employed over Fig. 130; also the three circles over the small Bell, Fig. 131.

p. 53. Figs. 132-134 (B.); 135 (S.).

„ 54. Figs. 137-141 (B.).

„ 55-57. **Troubadours.** *Cf. Dante, etc.* E. Aroux, Paris, 1854. *The Troubadours: their Loves and Lyrics.* J. Rutherford, Lond. 1873. *Choix des Poesies originales des Troubadours.* M. Raynouard, Paris 1817. *The Troubadours.* F. Hueffer, 1878. *The Troubadours and Courts of Love.* J. F. Rowbotham, Lond. 1895. *Traces of a Hidden Tradition.* Cooper-Oakley, Lond. 1900. *Les Mystères de la Chevalerie.* E. Aroux, Paris, 1858.

„ 58. **Heckethorn, C. W.** *Cf. The Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries.* Lond. 1897, i. 144.

„ 59. **Foolscap.** The emblem of a jester making merry with cap and bells may be seen carved in Berne Cathedral. During the early days of the revolt of the United Provinces against the tyranny of Philip II. of Spain, Motley tells us that the retainers of the house of Egmont suddenly surprised Brussels by appearing in a livery, upon each sleeve of which was embroidered a fool's cap and bells. The emblem was aimed at Cardinal Granvelle, and was intended, says Motley, to remind the arrogant priest that a Brutus, as in the olden time, might be found lurking in the costume of the fool. This livery caught the popular fancy, and spread so rapidly among all classes of the people that the supply of frieze cloth in Brabant became exhausted. The pressure of the authorities eventually succeeded in getting the obnoxious emblem withdrawn.

„ 60. **Rossetti.** *Cf. A Disquisition on the Anti-papal Spirit that produced the Reformation.* Lond. 1834, ii. 195.

"Thou can'st go." *Cf. Dante.* Aroux, p. 28.

„ 61. **Gavaudin.** *Cf.* Rutherford, p. 44.

Diana. Figs. 145 and 146 (B.). M. Briquet comments upon this mark: "It is difficult to say what this woman represents. Is she wearing a crown or a curly headdress? On what is she seated? Whatever it

may be, the mark seems to have originated in Lorraine, and to have become more or less common in that region" (ii. 412).

Dante. *Cf. Convivio*, ii. 16.

Bruno. *Cf. Remarks upon Alchemy and the Alchemists.* E. A. Hitchcock, New York, 1865, p. 197.

p. 62. **Rutherford**, p. 44.

„ 63. **Heckethorn**, i. 149.

Aroux. "Roland est porteur d'un cor au son puissant, *figure de la predication sectaire.*" *Cf. Dante*, p. 463.

„ 64. Figs. 147-150 (B.); 152 (S.).

Horn. I am inclined to think that in some cases the horn depicts the "Horn of Salvation."

„ 65. **Song of Roland.** *Cf.* Translation by Jessie Crosland. Lond. 1907, p. 89.

Bell "Roland." *Cf. History of Dutch Republic.* J. L. Motley (Everyman's Library), i. 63, 66.

„ 66. **Nutt.** *Cf. Legends of the Holy Grail.* Lond. 1902, pp. 48, 49.

Helinandus. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

„ 67. **Baring-Gould.** *Cf. Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, pp. 617-624 (quoted from Mrs. Cooper-Oakley).

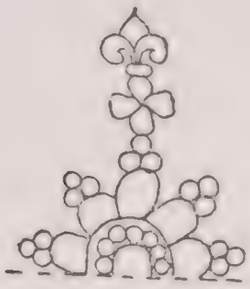
„ 67. **Bergmann** (F. G.). *The San Graal.* Lond. 1870, pp. 12-28.

„ 69. Figs. 155-158, 160-162, 164 (B.); 159, 163 (S.).

„ 71. Figs. 165-168 (B.); 169-171 (M.M.).

Crescent Moon. According to Mrs. G. F. Watts, "In early Christian symbolism the crescent moon was the symbol of heaven." This is perhaps the explanation of the frequent appearance of a crescent at the summit of St. Grail watermarks. *Cf.* Figs. 172, 174, 176, 183, etc. See also p. 32.

Five rays. An immense number of St. Grails are decorated by 5 rays, thus :—



Dr. Wynn Westcott states that "Light is referred to the number 5," but 5 has so many meanings that it is dangerous to select any special one among them. The contents of the Holy Vessel were said to be pure light, and the *Fleur de lys* seen in Figs. 175 and 182 doubtless symbolised this. In Figs. 185 and 186 the objects at the summit appear to be flames. Figs. 191-204 are all taken from a single book—Greenham's *Works*, 1605. They are reproduced in their natural size. In *Horæ Mysticæ* (Lond. 1908) Miss Gregory quotes an extract from "Hermes Trismegistus": "Having filled a great Cup, of this He sent down giving a herald and commanded him to proclaim to the hearts of men these things: Baptize thyself who is able into this the Cup, which is believing that thou shalt return to Him Who hath sent down the Cup. As many then as understood the proclamation and were baptized with The Mind these partook of the knowledge and became perfect men, having received the Mind. . . . This then is the science of the Mind, the inspection of divine things and the recognition of The God—the Cup being Divine."

The 5 rays shown in the figure herewith may perhaps symbolise the 5 transformations of the Graal. These, says Mr. Waite, "are analogous to the 5 natures of man." I don't quite understand what are these "5 natures," but possibly the reader may.

p. 78. **SS Handles.** *Cf. Isis Unveiled*, ii. 449.

p. 77. **A Fish.** "The symbolic fish upon the table conveyed to the warden the title of Rich Fisher, and it is in this sense—that is to say, for the same reason—that the Saints become Fishers of Men" (*Hidden Church of Holy Graal*, Waite, p. 497).

„ 78. **Romaunt of Rose.** *Cf. Dante*, p. 83. In his *Clef de la Comedie anti-Catholique* (Paris, 1856) Aroux states that the Rose signified "*L'Eglise Albigeoise et sa doctrine la St. Grail, le vase parfait ou le Temple transformé en fleur mystique; de là, l'immense vogue du roman de Guillaume de Loris*" (p. 31).

Chaucer. *R. of R.*, lines 674-684.

„ 79. Figs. 215, 216 (B.).

Rose. In *The Fairy Queen* Spenser refers to "that daintie Rose"—

> "Eternal God in His Almighty powre
> To make ensample of His heavenly Grace
> In Paradize whylome did plant this flowre."
> (Book III. Canto v.)

„ 80. **Dante.** *Cf. Paradiso*, xxx. and xxxi.

„ 82. **Li parlar.** *Cf. Luther's Forerunners.* Lennard, Lond. 1624, p. 44.

Lollardry and Education. Dr. J. Gairdner tells us that the Lollards "formed illicit conventicles, *kept schools*, wrote books, and held disputations" (*Lollardy and the Reformation*, i. 47).

First French Bible. *Cf.* Berard, pp. 121, 165. The date given by Berard is obviously wrong. The British Museum has editions of [1510?] 1521, 1530, 1531.

„ 83. **St. Catherine.** *Cf. Chambers' Encyclopædia*, art. St. C. Figs. 227, 228, 229 (S.); 230 (B.); 231, 232 (M.M.).

„ 84. Figs. 233, 234 (B.); 236 (S.).

Tates mark. Fig. 235 is reproduced from an essay by Mr. Lewis Evans. Mr. Evans now informs me that his reproduction was inaccurate, and that Tates mark was a *star* within a double circle.

p. 85. **Basilius.** *Cf. Triumphal Chariot of Antimony*, p. 42.
Agrippa. *Cf. In the Pronaos of the Temple of Wisdom.* F. Hartmann, M.D., Lond. 1890, pp. 36, 37.

„ 86. **Combachius.** *Cf. Alchemy and the Alchemists*, p. 182.
Sendivogius. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
another. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
Hallam. *Cf. Introduction to Literature of Europe*, i.

„ 87. **concealing.** *Cf. The Story of Alchemy.* M.M. Pattison-Muir, Lond. 1902, p. 36.
horrid metaphors. *Cf. Alchemy and the Alchemists*, p. 237.

„ 88. **Valentine.** *Cf. Triumphal Chariot of Antimony*, p. 13.
St. Grail = stone. *Cf.* Nutt, p. 14.

„ 89. **Flammel.** *Cf. Alchemy and the Alchemists.*
"Our art," says one. *Cf. Story of Alchemy*, p. 32.
another. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
Paracelsus. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

„ 90. **Sendivogius.** *Cf. Story of Alchemy*, p. 29.

„ 91. **Agent Love.** *Cf. Alchemy and the Alchemists.*

„ 92. **Oh, foolishness.** *Ibid.*, p. 174.
Valentine. *Cf. Triumphal Chariot of Antimony*, pp. 33, 51.

„ 93. **I dare affirm.** *Cf. Alchemy and the Alchemists*, p. 29.

„ 94. **Waite.** *Cf. Lives of the Alchemistical Philosophers*, p. 33.
van Suchten. *Cf. Alchemy and the Alchemists*, pp. 100, 101.

„ 95. **Encyclopædia.** *Cf. Chambers*, art. "Alchemy."

„ 96. **Waite**, p. 14.

„ 97. **Ordinance**, 1582. *Cf.* Briquet, i. 9.

„ 98. **QBL**, "a means," etc. *Cf. Numbers.* Wynn Westcott, p. 12.

„ 99. **Reuchlin.** "He believed that by treading in the footsteps of the Cabbalah he should ascend from symbol to symbol, from form to form, till he should reach that last and purest form which rules the empire of mind,

and in which human mutability approaches to the Immutable and Divine" (*History of Reformation in Germany*. Ranke, Lond. 1905, p. 136).

Picus. *Cf. Introduction to Literature of Europe.* Hallam, i. 209.

Waite. *Cf. Doctrine and Literature of the Kabalah.*

Hiram. *Cf.* De Quincey, Essay on Rosicrucianism.

Amen. "The word 'Amen' is from AMN, the initials of 'Adonai melekh namen,' meaning 'The Lord and faithful King'" (*Numbers*. Wynn Westcott, p. 13).

p. 100. **Stota.** *Cf. Golden Remains of Early Masonic Writers.* Dr. Oliver, Lond. 1847, ii. 180.

Tgaotu. *Cf. Christ the Spirit.* E. A. Hitchcock, New York, 1874, i. 413.

Rossetti. *Cf. Disquisition*, ii. 228, 229.

„ 101. Fig. 240 (P.).

„ 102, 103. Figs. 243, 244, 245, 247, 249 (S.); all others (B.).

„ 104. Fig. 242 (B.).

Mackey. *Cf. Lexicon of Freemasonry*, p. 195.

G. *Cf. Early Hist. and Antiquities of Freemasonry.* G. F. Fort, Phila. 1875, p. 484.

Phoded and D. *Cf. Francis Bacon and his Secret Society.* Pott, pp. 306, 403.

P. I am inclined to think that P. sometimes stood for Pax.

D. Mrs. Pott says: "Di was a term for the Deity, from which we have Day (Dai)." Fig. 249 is sometimes to be found rising from a Bull's Head. I think that sometimes, as for instance when it appears upon a hand in Fig. 250, D. may simply have stood for Deo = For God.

M. *Cf. Secret Doctrine.* H. P. Blavatsky, i. 384.

„ 105. **Aum.** *Cf. Lexicon of Freemasonry*, p. 228. *Isis Unveiled*, ii. 31.

„ 106. "**Our art.**" *Cf. Alchemy and the Alchemists*, p. 158.

Ripley. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

p. 108. **C. AB. L.** *Cf. The Text Book of Freemasonry*, anon., p. 237.

„ 109. **By three**, p. 16.

„ 111. **Love to be unknown.** I was quite unaware when writing this sentence that "Love to be unknown" was the alpha of À Kempis' *Alphabet of Instructions* to his novices. His words are, "Love to be unknown, and to be accounted for nothing; for this is more healthful and more useful to thee than to be applauded of men." Kettlewell states that this was thoroughly received among the Brothers of the Common Life, and that "the words *ama nesciri* had become proverbial among them." Just as the Lollards in England and the Waldenses in France were responsible for the founding of schools and the translation of Scripture into the vernacular, so in Rhineland do we find the Brethren of the Common Life contending warmly for a translation of the Bible into the German tongue. "They not only afforded facilities of education to the labouring class in opening and supporting schools of rudimentary instruction, but they sought to advance the cause of learning among the better class" (*cf. Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of Common Life.* Rev. S. Kettlewell, M.A., Lond. 1885).

„ 112. **1403.** *Cf. The Story of Books.* G. B. Rawlings, Lond. 1901, p. 51.

„ 114. **Dr. Beard.** *Cf. The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge.* C. Beard, B.A., Lond. 1897, p. 59.

St. Paul's Cross. *Cf. Story of Books*, p. 55. I. D'Israeli attributes practically the same words to Cardinal Wolsey. He adds: "This great statesman, at this early period, had taken into view its [Printing's] remote consequences. Lord Herbert has curiously assigned to the cardinal his ideas as addressed to the pope:—'This new invention of printing has produced various effects of which your holiness cannot be ignorant. If it has restored books and learning, it has also been the occasion of those sects

and schisms which daily appear. Men begin to call in question the present faith and tenets of the church; and the laity read the Scriptures, and pray in their vulgar tongue. Were this suffered the common people might come to believe that there was not so much use of the clergy. If men were persuaded that they could make their own way to God, and in their ordinary language as well as Latin, the authority of the Mass would fall, which would be very prejudicious to our ecclesiastical orders. The mysteries of religion must be kept in the hands of priests—the secret and arcanum of church government. Nothing remains more to be done than to prevent further apostasy. For this purpose, since printing could not be put down, it were best to set up learning against learning; and, by introducing able persons to dispute, to suspend the laity between fears and controversies. Since printing cannot be put down, it may still be made useful.' Thus, the statesman, who could not by a single blow annihilate this monster of all schism, would have wrestled with it with a statesman's policy," *cf. Amenities of Literature*, art. "The War against Books."

p. 115. **penalty.** *Cf. Story of Books*, p. 55, and *Curiosities of Literature*, I. D'Israeli, ii. 19.

Hallam. *Introduction to Literature of England*, i. 156.

Durandus. *Cf.* Introduction to *Symbolism of Churches.*

„ 116. **Brussels Press.** *Cf. Story of Books*, p. 117.

„ 117. **Wessel, etc.** *Cf.* Dr. Beard, p. 47.

Franciscans. "Francis taught his disciples to find their strength in prayer, but no religious meditations were to be excuses for idleness. Everyone who joined his brotherhood must work. The brother who knew no trade must learn one, for it was part of his simple creed that to labour was to pray" (*St. Francis of Assisi.* Frances E. Cooke, p. 34). "The reason why the Popes took such severe action against them has been found in the fact that their assertion of the duty of poverty implied a censure upon the licentious and prodigal life

of the Papal court; but in truth their doctrines were connected with various theological tenets which were directed against the very existence of the hierarchy, tenets which foretold the downfall of the existing system and the substitution of a purer and more spiritual order of things. Visionaries these men doubtless were; but they lived in an age which was only too ready to carry theories into practice, and in practice their spiritualism proved the vigorous ally of Ghibellinism" (*Wycliffe and Movements for Reform.* R. L. Poole, M.A., Lond. 1902, p. 24).

Some idea of the enormously beneficent influence of the Franciscans may be gathered from the fact that no less than 124,000 of them fell victims to their zeal in tending the victims of the Black Death.

St. Francis a Troubadour. *Cf. Der heilige Franciskus von Assisi, ein Troubadour.* J. Görres, Strasburg, 1826.

p. 118. **Fratricelli, etc.** Vaughan notes:

Concerning these sects, see Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 1-18. The fullest account is given of them in a masterly Latin treatise by Mosheim, *De Beghardis et Beguinabus.* He enters at length into the discussion of their name and origin; details the various charges brought against them, and gives the bulls and acts issued for their suppression. See especially the circular of John Ochsenstein, Bishop of Strasburg, cap. iv. § xi. p. 255.

p. 119. **Tide with us.** Vaughan notes:

Authority for these statements concerning the literature of the period will be found in Gervinus, *Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen*, part vi. §§ 1, 2, 5.

p. 120. **Vaughan**, i. pp. 184-186.

„ 121. **Printers' Devices.** The bibliography of Printing amounts to the bewildering total of between six and seven thousand titles. On the subject of printers' marks, *cf. Thesaurus Symbolorum ac emblematum*, Friderici Rothscholtzii, Nuremburg, 1730. *Marques Typographiques*, L.-C. Silvestre, Paris, 1868. *Die Büchermarken*, Strasburg, 1892; Zurich, 1895; Basle, 1895; Frankfurt and Mayence, 1896; Cologne, 1898. *Marques Typographiques des Imprimeurs and Libraires Anversois.*

Antwerp, 1883. *Early Dutch, German, and English Printers' Marks.* J. P. Berjeau, Lond. 1866-69. Had space permitted I should have reproduced the following subjects:—

Snake on Tau Cross.

Heart and Rose. *Motto*, "In the prudent heart wisdom dwells."

Crowned Hearts. *Motto*, "A humble and a contrite heart God will not despise."

Sun shining on Plant being watered. *Motto*, "Until the things desired come."

Swan and Cross.

Two Pillars. *Motto*, "Piety and Justice."

Sower. *Motto*, "His art in God."

Clasped Hands and Heart. *Motto*, "By concord small things grow: by discord great things decay."

Fruit Tree. *Motto*, "Fruit grows little by little."

Device. *Motto*, "Possess your souls in patience."

Crowned Star. *Motto*, "Stars point out the way to kings."

Pandora. *Motto*, "Hope alone remained."

Joshua and Caleb carrying Grapes.

Arrow and Serpent. *Motto*, "Make haste slowly."

Child riding on Eagle. *Motto*, "My hope is in God."

Cock. *Motto*, "The vigilant custodian of things."

Transfixed Heart, clasped Hands, and Thorns. *Motto*, "Out of hardships come peace and love."

p. 121. **Montet.** p. 67.
It is our duty. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

„ 122. **W. Roberts.** *Cf. Printers' Marks.* Lond. 1893, p. 3.

„ 125. **Waldo.** Mrs Cooper-Oakley says Waldo was a Troubadour. *Cf. Traces*, p. 121.
Vaughan. *Cf. Hours with the Mystics*, p. 66.
Antichrist. *Cf. The Waldensian MSS.* J. H. Todd, 1865, p. vi.
Waldensian woman. *Cf. Luther's Forerunners*, 1624, Book II., ch. iii., p. 38.

p. 126. **a philosopher** = Francis Bacon.
Eagle. *Cf. Nat. Hist. Lore and Legend.* F. E. Hulme, p. 224. Also *The Word in the Pattern.* Mrs. G. F. Watts.

"The representation of the Eagle," says Dionysius, "denotes the kingly, and soaring, and swift in flight, and quickness in search of the nourishment which makes

strong, and wariness, and agility, and cleverness; and the unimpeded, straight, and unflinching gaze towards the bounteous and brilliant splendour of the Divine rays of the Sun, with the robust extension of the visual powers" (*The Heavenly Hierarchy*, sect. viii.). The Eagle when two-headed is the emblem of Omnipotence. There is reason to suppose it originally represented a mythical Eastern bird—the monstrous and all-powerful roc.

,, 127. **chameleon**. *Cf. Hieroglyphica Valeriani.*
De Bury. *Philobiblon.* Lond. 1903, pp. 12, 13.

,, 128. **Dante**. *Paradiso*, c. xxxi.
Squirrel. *Cf. Nat. Hist. Lore and Legend*, p. 174.

,, 129. **De Bury**. *Philobiblon*, p. 83.

,, 130. Figs. 285-291 (B.).
Sara-isvati. *Cf. Isis Unveiled*, ii. 409.

p. 132. **Watts.** *Word in the Pattern.*
Phœnix. *Cf. A New Study of Shakespeare.* Lond. anon.

,, 135. **witch mania.** "For two centuries and a half . . . an epidemic terror seized upon the nations. France, Italy, Germany, England, Scotland and the far north successively ran mad. . . . In many cities of Germany the average number of executions for this pretended crime was six hundred annually, or two every day." Thousands upon thousands of women, children, and *animals* fell victims. *Cf. Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions.* Chas. Mackay, Lond. 1869, ii. 102.
Dr. Beard. *Cf. Ref. of 16th Cent.*, p. 298.
Fanatics. *Cf.* Beard, p. 292.

,, 136. **Luther and schoolmen.** *Cf. Pioneers of Evolution.* Ed. Clodd, Lond. 1897, p. 80.
Booksellers. *Cf.* Beard, pp. 339, 341.

,, 137. **grossest lusts.** *Cf. The Lost and Hostile Gospels.* S. Baring-Gould, Lond. 1874.

,, 138. **Quarles.** *Cf. Emblems: Moral and Divine.*
S. Lee. Letter to *The Athenæum.*

,, 139. **Erasmus.** *Cf.* Hallam's *Intro.*, i. 289.
Luther. *Cf. History of Reformation.* J. H. M. D'Aubigné. Glasgow, 1845, i. 56.

,, 140. **Bruno.** *Cf. Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance.* J. Owen, Lond. 1893.

,, 141. **Fama Fraternitatis.** *Cf. The Real History of the Rosicrucians.* A. E. Waite, Lond. 1887.

,, 142. **Confessio.** *Ibid.*
Cockshying. *Cf. The England of Shakespeare.* E. Goadby, Lond. 1881.

,, 143. **Fleur de luce, Lux.** *Cf. The Rosicrucians: their Rites and Mysteries.* Hargrave-Jennings, Lond., chap. viii.
Lux lucet. *Cf.* Gilly's *Narrative*, p. 257.

,, 144. **Eliz. poet.** Robt. Greene, *Arbasto.*

p. 145. Fig. 308 (S.); 310, 311 (B.).

„ 148. **Ship.** A ship also "typified the Holy Church of Christ."

Plotinus. This and following quotation is from Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, pp. 78 and 262.

„ 150. **The Library.** No. 9.

Transference of Woodcuts. Mr. A. W. Pollard has a chapter on this subject in his *Old Picture Books*, Lond. 1902. "Despite some efforts to prove the contrary, there can," says he, "be little doubt that the use of taking cliches of woodcuts, or of cuts engraved on soft metal treated in the same way as wood, was quite unknown during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries" (p. 73).

„ 151. **Anonymity.** One reason for this practice was probably the same idea as that expressed upon his deathbed by the great mystic, John Tauler. "He begged him to make a little book of it, but enjoined him to conceal both their names, for the work was not theirs, but God's, who wrought through them. They were simply unworthy sinners" (*John Tauler, The Friend of God.* W. P. Swainson, p. 22). This mystic notion of the rights of authorship doubtless accounts for the apparently unprincipled way in which writers "borrowed" from each other without acknowledgment. Huss published some of Wycliffe's works as though they were his own, and other instances are abundant (*cf. The Shakespeare Symphony*).

„ 153. Mr. A. W. Pollard traces one block of this design from 1585 to 1670, and has "no doubt that its original appearance was even earlier" (p. 75).

„ 155. **Bacon.** *Cf. Adv. of Lear.*, 1640, p. 116; also *Wisdom of Ancients* (*Pan*).

Campanella. *Cf. Adv. of Lear.* Oxford, 1640, Introductory "Judgments upon the Lo. Verulam."

Jonson. *Cf. Time Vindicated.*

„ 156. **Hell**, c. i.

„ 157. **Purgatory**, c. xx.

p. 158. **Pan.** Possibly the prayer of Socrates was expressed in some of these Pan emblems: "Beloved Pan, and oh! ye diviner ones who are about this place, grant that I may be good in my inner nature; and that what I have of external things may be consonant with those inner things. May I deem the wise to be the only truly rich. And let me have only so much of gold as a provident man might enjoy and use."

Gardner. *Cf. The Vision of Dante Alighieri* (Everyman's Library), p. 4.

,, 158 and 161. verses. These are from Arnold's *Light of Asia.*

,, 161. **Boar.** *Cf. Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. "Artemis."

,, 163. **Owen**, p. 383.

Blanche. *Cf. Colin Clout Explained.* E. A. Hitchcock, New York, 1865, p. 152.

,, 165. **Laura, etc.** D'Israeli observes of the Troubadours that though libertines in their verse they were "so refined and chaste in their manners that few husbands were alarmed at the enthusiastic language they addressed to their wives. . . . Love and its grosser passion were clearly distinguished from each other in their singular intercourse with their 'Dames.' The object of their mind was separated from the object of their senses; the virtuous lady to whom they vowed their hearts was in their language styled '*la dame de ses pensées*,' a very distinct being from their other mistress! Such was the platonic chimera that charmed in the age of chivalry; the Laura of Petrarch might have been no other than the lady of his thoughts" (*Curiosities of Literature*, i. 445).

,, 167. **Spenser.** *Sonnet*, 74.

,, 168. **Heriot de Borderie.** Quoted from Hitchcock's *Colin Clout*, p. 11.

,, 169. **Doves of Diana.** In *The Cathedral Builders* Leader Scott refers to "the entirely Christian emblem of two doves pecking at a vase in which are heavenly flowers" (p. 80). She does not explain its meaning. This

emblem has been found on a Liège coin dated 1348. Count Goblet d'Alviella states that its origin "must be sought for in the symbolism of the worship paid in Asia Minor to the great Goddess of Nature venerated by the Phœnician population under the name of Astarte. The Doves played a prominent part in this worship either as personification of the Goddess, or as sacred birds reared in the Temple." It will be remembered that Jesus scourged the dove sellers out of the Temple of Jerusalem.

p. 170. **Garden of the Wise.** *Cf. Alchemy and the Alchemists*, p. 159.

„ 171. **Bird of Paradise.** *Cf. Nat. Hist. Lore and Legend.* F. E. Hulme, p. 209.

„ 172 and 173. **Fish, etc.** It will be noticed how these head-pieces are composed of the same symbols. The bunch of Fish is so undecorative that the most sceptical must accept the suggestion that it had a symbolic meaning.

„ 174. **Aroux**, p. 31.
Serpent. *Cf. Isis Unveiled*, i. 157.

„ 175. **Quarles.** *Cf.* "Invocation."
Sidney. *Cf. Defense of Poesie.*

„ 177. **Motley.** *Cf. Dutch Republic*, i. 86, 299, 300; iii. 194, 294.

„ 178. **Bacon.** *Adv. of Lear.*, book ii., chap. 13.
Shakespeare. *As You Like It*, II. vii.
Marston. *Satyres.*
Massinger. *Roman Actor*, i. 3.
Peele. *David and Bathsheba.*

„ 179. **Massinger.** *Renegado.*
Goat was also the symbol of fecundity.
Sidney. *Defense of Poesie.*

„ 181. **"Standard writer"** = Luckombe. *Cf. History of Printing.*
Philosopher = Bacon. *Cf. Adv. of Lear.*, book ix.

p. 182. **Motley.** *Dutch Republic*, i. 48.

„ 191. **cipher literature.** *Cf. Cryptography.* F. E. Hulme, Lond.
Rossetti. Dedication and vol. ii., pp. 195-197.

„ 194. **Paracelsus.** *Cf. In the Pronaos of the Temple.* F. Hartmann, Lond. 1890.
Novum Organum, book i., aph. cxx.
Boyle. *Cf. Natural Philosophy.* Lond. 1664.

„ 195. **Provençal.** *Cf. Anagrams and Echo Verses.* I. D'Israeli.

„ 196. **Ciphers and printing.** Even in modern times printing has been employed as a vehicle for anti-papal cipher writing. "Before the union of Italy more than one attempt was secretly made to turn official papers and notes to propagandic uses. A custom-house regulation form was so spaced by the compositor that the initial words in every line, if read consecutively, were a declaration against the Papal claim to govern Rome" (*Caxton Magazine*).
Camden anagrams. *Cf. Baconiana*, 1904, p. 41.

„ 197. **Norton.** *Cf. Curiosities of Literature.*

„ 198. **Gerson.** *Cf. The Reformers before the Reformation.* E. de Bonnechose, Edin. 1844, p. 42.
Rape, poisoning, etc. *Cf. Dutch Republic*, i. 73, 76.

„ 199. **Bull of 1487.** *Cf. Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piemont.* W. S. Gilly, M.A., Lond. 1825, App. No. 8.

„ 200. **Torquemada and anathema.** *Cf. Dutch Republic*, i. 71, 279.

„ 201. **Netherlands.** *Ibid.*, ii. 127, 320.
Cromwell's Envoy. *Cf.* Gilly's *Narrative*, 227.

„ 202. **Inquisition.** The audacity of the Inquisition went so far as to send a deputation to examine the orthodoxy of Pope Innocent XI. Even the tiara was not sufficient to shield from suspicions of heresy.

p. 203. **1733**. *Cf. Social England.* H. D. Traill, Lond. 1903, ii. 102.
Dominican. *Cf. Curiosities of Literature.*

„ 204. **Francis I.** *Cf. Skeptics of the French Renaissance.* J. Owen.

„ 205. **Vanini.** *Cf. Skeptics of the Italian Renaissance* J. Owen.

„ 206. **Hector.** *Cf. Luther's Forerunners.*
Licensers. *Cf. Curiosities of Literature.*

„ 208. **Informers.** *Cf. The Library.* No. 30, vol. viii.

„ 209. **Sismondi.** *Cf. History of the Italian Republics.*
Bacon. *Cf. Advice to his Son.* F. Osborn, Lond.

„ 210. **Buffon.** *Cf. Pioneers of Evolution.* E. Clodd, Lond.
Voltaire, Diderot. *Cf. History of Civilisation.* Buckle.
Symonds. *Cf.* art. "Renaissance," *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

„ 211. **Baring-Gould.** *Cf. Curious Myths of Middle Ages.*
Hitchcock. *Cf. Alchemy and the Alchemists.*

„ 212. "**They wish.**" *Cf. Dutch Republic*, i. 412.
1624 writer. *Cf. Luther's Forerunners.*

„ 213. **Lo! in the East.** These lines are from Sir E. Arnold's *Light of Asia.*

„ 219. **Chapel.** Mr. C. T. Jacobi of The Chiswick Press has some notes on this subject in *Gesta Typographica*, Lond.
Geometrical Symbols. It is significant that these curious marks are most abundant in the tombs of the churches in anti-Catholic *Holland.* Articles on the subject may be found in *The Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xlix., 1893, pp. 45-54; vol. l., 1894, pp. 40-44; and *Notes and Queries*, ser. 8, vol. ix., p. 409. But the only writer on the subject who displays more than the merest superficial knowledge is

G. F. Fort. In his *Historical Treatise on Early Builders' Marks* (Philadelphia, 1885), he states, "Of infinite variety and multiplied application were the marks in social domestic life during the period under consideration. Families of lesser grade than the nobility adopted certain figures as symbols of race distinction in lieu of heraldry, and not infrequently had them carved on their houses, on sills, lintels, beams, etc." They were also worn as rings and seals. "Customs of this kind were in such great popularity and so closely identified with secret societies that synods of the church issued decrees against wearing them" (p. 90). "The circle occurs many times, and was doubtless carried up from pagan cosmogony, in which it symbolises the universe and divine puissance. In Christianity it portrayed Eternity" (p. 91). "A quadrate in both Christian and polytheistic dogmas typified the world and nature, such as the four quarters of the earth, four elements, four seasons of the year, and, distinct from the triangle, symbolised Christian Divinity" (p. 91).

p. 223. **Awake!** Quoted from Mr. Filson Young's *The Wagner Stories*.

„ 227. **Auvergne.** *Cf. Note sur la Papeterie d'Auvergne.* Cohendy.

„ 228. **Italy from Provence.** *Cf. The Tuscan Republics.* B. Duffy, p. 255.
Huguenot gate. *Cf.* Motley, i. 226.
Aroux. *Cf. Dante*, p. 31.
Schmidt. *Cf. Hist. des Cathares*, i. 33; ii. 5, 169.

„ 229. **New Theology.** It is worthy of note that the teachings of Thomas à Kempis and the Brethren of the Common Life were dubbed "The New Devotion."
Clergy. On inquiry at the S.P.C.K. I am told the Church of England has practically no literature on Symbolism.

„ 229. **Bacon.** *Cf.* Introduction, *Wisdom of Ancients.*

p. 230. **C. Murray.** *Cf. Guesses at Truths* (Faith).
Leader Scott. *Cf. The Cathedral Builders.*
Valete = *Fare you well*, or *Health be with you.* Had I met with this mark earlier I should have included it on p. 40 as proof of my surmise that papermarks served frequently as signals of hope and encouragement. The nameless designer of "**Valete**," by his combination of the Fleur de Lys and the heart evidently implies that *love* and *light* will enable us to fare well. Probably, too, the rude square in which he has enclosed his kindly benediction is a sermonette to rule our lives upon the square.

APPENDIX

SINCE this book was in print there has been published *The Hidden Church of the Holy Graal, its Legends and Symbolism considered in their Affinity with certain Mysteries of Initiation and other Traces of a Secret Tradition in Christian Times*, by Arthur Edward Waite (London). The title of this work sufficiently indicates its contents. "If," says Mr. Waite, "there were custodians of a Secret Tradition at any time during the Christian centuries, there arises the inevitable question: Who were these mysterious wardens, and also where were they? Can we learn anything about them? What was this strange power or influence working within the Church?" And he answers that "within the Church Militant there had been always a little body which had pursued a peculiar path and had travelled a great distance, making no obvious sign. We are faced, however, by the apparent problem of two schools which seem to bear testimony in conflict, and there is the witness to both in the Graal literature. The first is that of spiritual alchemy, . . . the second is the testimony of Kabalism and Masonry." While, on the one hand, the existence of a traditional secret Church is an irresistible inference, Mr. Waite confesses that on the historical side this organisation is "the shadow of an hypothesis at best." This work will, I trust, provide Mr. Waite with some of his missing documentary evidence, and it will partially answer his preliminary query. It is impossible to question that the men who designed the beautiful and complicated Graal emblems were among the Wardens of its Mysteries, nor should it be a surprise to find these high-minded priests of progress among the producers of Literature.

Mr. Waite writes with a strong Roman Catholic bias. "When," says he, "we have considered all the crazes and heresies, all the pure, primitive, and unadulterated Christianities, being only human, and therefore disposed to gratitude, it is difficult not to thank God for Popery." His opinion, however, upon the heretical phase of the problem is disqualified by his

own words: "If I have any view on the subject—and honestly I have next to none—they [the Albigensians] were perhaps the Protestants of their period, dealing in poisonous nostrums of pure doctrine, simple faith, Bible Christianity, and they circulated uncorrupted interpretations of the Word of God—all horrors of that spurious simplicity which takes the wayfaring man into the first pit. We who know that *omnia exeunt in mysterium* have recited long ago our *Asperge*, and have turned aside from such blasphemous follies" [!].

Yet Mr. Waite writes of the San Graal legends: "These quests are mirrors of spiritual chivalry, mirrors of perfection, pageants of the mystic life. They are the teaching of the Church spiritualised, if I may be pardoned such a term, and they offer in romance form a presentation of the soul's chronicle." Mr. Waite is perfectly entitled to thank God for Popery, but he must be well aware that Popery and the mystics were in constant collision with each other, and that the Court of Rome did not encourage the "spiritualisation" of its teaching. It was indeed this spiritualisation of dogmas, such as Transubstantiation and The Immaculate Conception, that indicated Heresy, and if, as Mr. Waite affirms, the San Graal legends are the teachings of the Church spiritualised, I fail to see how at the same time they can be "among the most Catholic of Literature, and that reformations have nothing therein" (p. 46). The truth probably is that the better elements of the Church were perpetually striving in secrecy to remove its abuses. One must draw a hard and fast line between the manifold beauties of Catholic belief and the amazing corruptions of Popery. Unhappily for mankind the Inquisition was the tool of the latter.

"We must believe the evidence of our senses rather than arguments, and believe arguments if they agree with the phenomena."—*Aristotle.*

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